Black Mischief *James Ridgeway*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

December 24, 1966, 35 cents

The Wiretap War

Kennedy, Johnson and the FBI

by Robert M. Cipes

10017
NEW YORK N Y
SEC UN RM 448
CHR SCI MON E FOELL
NR CR 6SEC UE059 1 0468

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

4 NEW PAPERBACKS

CREDIT UNIONS

Theory and Practive

By Jack Dublin. A handbook presenting the basic philosophy of the credit union movement and how it is applied today in credit unions throughout the world.

180 pages Waynebook No. 20

$1.95, clothbound, $4.95

CRIME, LAW, AND SOCIETY

By Frank E. Hartung. This book is a controversial and stimulating explanation of the sociological theory of crime. "A volume for the sophisticated and intelligent student of crime and criminals, the criminologist, the jurist, and the psychiatrist. Few studies have held my interest so compellingly." —Donal E. J. MacNamara, *Crime and Delinquency.*

320 pages Waynebook No. 21

$2.95, clothbound, $9.75

Other books of interest

Louis Marshall, Defender of Jewish Rights *by Morton Rosenstock,* $8.95

Effects of Corporation Income Tax: Papers Presented at the Symposium on Business Taxation *edited by Marian Krzyzaniak,* $8.95.

Master of Precision: Henry M. Leland *by Mrs. Wilfred C. Leland and Minnie Dubbs Millbrook,* $7.95.

Profiles of Eleven *by Melech Epstein.* Profiles of eleven prominent Jewish men whose activities helped to shape the cultural pattern of the American Jewish community and whose lives reflect the economic and cultural struggles of the eastern and central European immigrants in the first half of this century. $8.95.

TRAGEDY AND THE THEORY OF DRAMA

By Elder Olson. "No student of drama can afford to remain unacquainted with this study . . . it so clearly and so economically explains what the principles of drama are and how they operate." —Hubert C. Heffner, *The Quarterly Journal of Speech.*

278 pages Waynebook No. 22

$2.95, clothbound, $6.95

HUGO VON HOFMANNSTHAL

THREE PLAYS

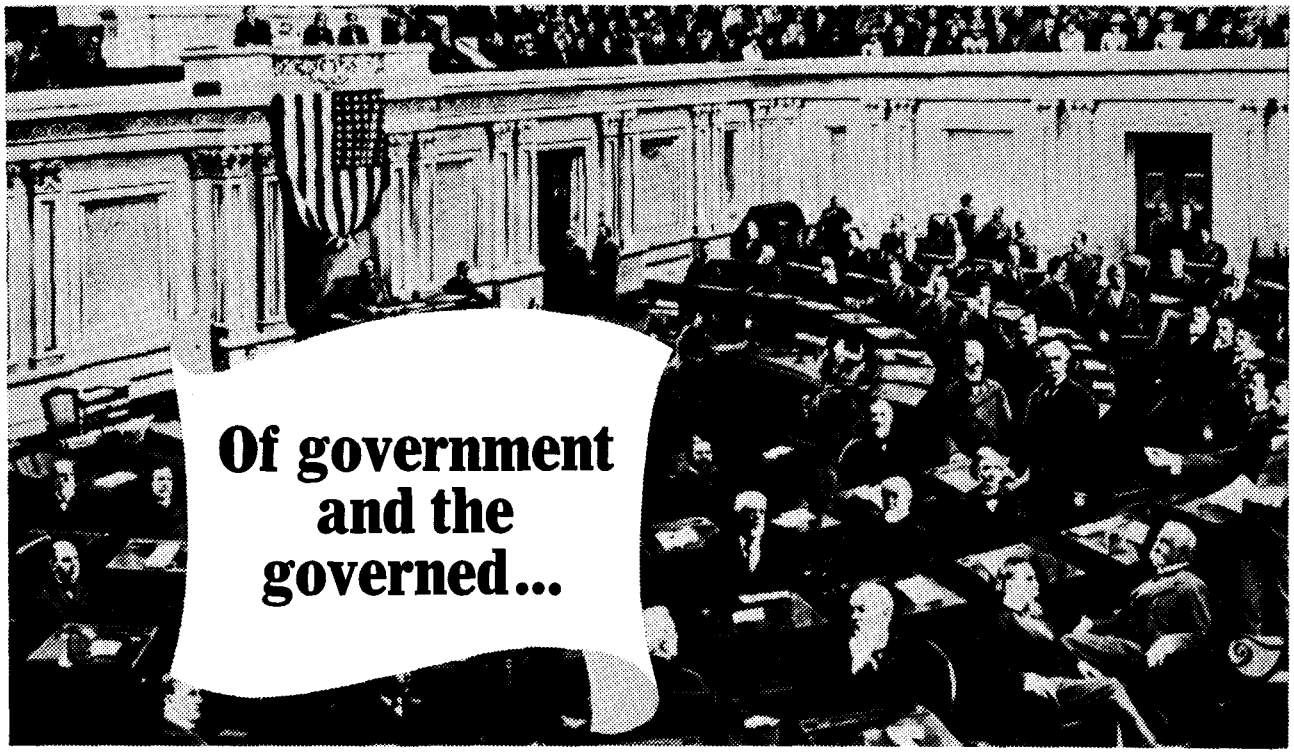
Translated with an introduction by Alfred Schwarz. New translations of three Hofmannsthal plays: *Death and the Fool, Electra, and The Tower* (1927 version). *The Tower* appears in English translation for the first time.

242 pages Waynebook No. 23

$2.95, clothbound, $6.95

from your bookseller or WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS, Detroit, Michigan 48202

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CONGRESS AND THE CONSTITUTION

A Study of Responsibility

Donald G. Morgan

This provocative study views with concern the widespread tendency today to identify the Constitution with the Supreme Court and to define it solely as "what the judges say it is." A historical record of Congressional performances on crucial public issues during a century and three-quarters, it demonstrates conclusively that the judiciary relinquishes to Congress a large number of grave constitutional problems. Mr. Morgan's suggestions for improving the machinery and operation of Congress will be of interest to every reader. A BELKNAP PRESS BOOK. $8.95

POLITICS AND POWER

The United States Senate, 1869-1901

David J. Rothman

This revealing analysis of the history and development of the Senate through three decades is "a striking reinterpretation clarifying a significant phase of the history of free institutions in America." — OSCAR HANDLIN. Second printing. $6.95

THE RESPONSIBLE ELECTORATE

Rationality in Presidential Voting, 1936-1960

V. O. Key, Jr.

"Absorbing . . . Helps to restore our confidence in the validity of democratic elections . . . will compel a fresh and comprehensive re-examination of the whole question on the rationality of the voter."—ROBERT A. DAHL, President-Elect, American Political Science Association A BELKNAP PRESS BOOK. $4.00

PARTY LOYALTY AMONG CONGRESSMEN

The Difference between Democrats and Republicans, 1947-1962

David R. Mayhew

This is a wholly engrossing study of how Democratic and Republican Congresmen have differed in their willingness to support the special interests of component minorities, and what profound political consequences this has had on certain post-World War II domestic issues. Mr. Mayhew uses actual roll call votes in Congress as primary data. $4.50

REORGANIZING ROOSEVELT'S GOVERNMENT

The Controversy Over Executive Reorganization, 1936-1939

Richard Polenberg

The many new federal agencies FDR created to put the U.S. economy back on its feet resulted in a rapid and undisciplined expansion of government, which he then tried to regulate by appointing the President's Committee on Administrative Management. After weeks of bitter debate, Roosevelt's Executive Reorganization Bill of 1938 was defeated, thus greatly affecting the future of the New Deal. Mr. Polenberg analyzes the meaning of the Reorganization Act of 1939, the content of Roosevelt's program, the relationship between the President and Congress, and the entire political spectrum during the latter part of the New Deal. $5.95

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, Mass. 02138

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. from Washington

Johnson and Moyers

★ Lyndon Johnson is one of the rare Presidents who seem to have no constituency of their own. Even at the worst the unfortunate Herbert Hoover had a passionately devoted following. There was always a group that loved the tough little Truman. Mr. Johnson doesn't inspire that kind of dedication. He also has trouble attracting top men and keeping them. It is a personality trait that makes it difficult for him to hold regular, formal press conferences. And now, at a low point for the Johnson administration, 32-year-old special assistant Bill Moyers is leaving.

A markedly stabilizing influence in the lonely and beleaguered White House, Moyers has been more than press secretary, he has been a symbol. He has a sense of humor, has acted as go-between with the press and the Kennedy clan, and has kept temperatures down. Most important, he is one of the few who can talk back to the difficult President. Now he is going. He is going to a job on *Newsday*, a newspaper published on Long Island, that will pay him more money. One wonders. What do ambitious men work for? Is it dollars – or power and prestige? And where is there greater power than in the White House in the world's most powerful country? It is hard to believe that Moyers is leaving for a pay raise. Ike's Jim Hagerty didn't quit; he could have doubled his $30,000 any time.

The administration is in trouble. At times it seems to be coming apart. It lost seats in the election but this was no worse than the normal mid-term pendulum swing after a presidential landslide. There is also the natural tendency to blame a leader after such a setback. But this again is normally transitory. Mr. Johnson is in deeper trouble than this. We regret it because he has made a historic legislative reform record and, whether you find him lovable or not, he stands between us and Senator Dirksen – the symbol to TRB of a GOP legislative victory in 1968: a leadership against civil rights and reapportionment reform, against labor, for big business and the prayer amendment.

The real load Mr. Johnson carries, we believe, is Vietnam. It is murdering him. If it isn't settled in 18 months it might well bring a GOP victory. The war budget is far bigger than the administration indicated, thereby widening the credibility gap. Vietnam is prompting cutbacks in the war on poverty, alienating the poor, labor, liberals and the intellectuals. It blocks a détente with Russia. It can be "won" only by saturation bombing, which will apparently be followed by 10 or 20 years of murderous guerrilla war.

The country loathes the war but it also loathes the idea of not winning it. For a while people can be bullied. We heard an official tell an audience the other day, with a contemptuous look, that he was sure the nation would never "rat" on the war. The crowd looked self-conscious and guilty. But can this control be sustained? This is the only US conflict we know of where a father and son sit down together to figure out the best way of avoiding the draft. In short, an ominous mood is beginning to gather. The country may soon be looking for a scapegoat. The GOP is naturally encouraged. But as we glance over their leading candidates we can't feel that Mr. Johnson in normal circumstances and with the two-term tradition would have much to fear. Perhaps we do Governor Romney an injustice but where the opposition party lacks outstanding candidates the tradition is for it to go outside politics.

How to Fight Poverty

★ While all this is going on a witness before the Senate Ribicoff committee in another connection has once more directed attention to Canada's war on poverty. He is Daniel Moynihan, former assistant secretary of labor, a man for whom we have deep respect. Now he is director of the Harvard-MIT Urban Study Center. He cut through weeks of testimony on proposed ameliorative projects for the slums. The "crisis," he said, is a Negro ghetto crisis, and you solve it by jobs and by income redistribution; only secondarily by assorted welfare services.

One baby in six in the United States today is Negro. The Negro ghetto is a matriarchy, where the man often can't get a job, and which is taking biological revenge on the whites by a population burst, with marital relations an afterthought. Ghetto schools can't overcome environment. What is needed is jobs. Also a restructuring of the family relationship made possible by cash. Look at what Canada is doing.

Well, we got some figures together. Canada has been giving family allowances (baby bonus) for 25 years: no means test and non-contributory. Cost in 1965 – $545 million. It also pays a non-contributory old age security allowance. Each Canadian over 68 gets $75 a month, regardless of income, and the age will be reduced to 65 in 1970. Cost in 1965 – $885 million. Furthermore, parliament, as we understand it, has just increased the old age scheme with a supplement for lower incomes; cost – $270 million. All these are non-contributory. (In addition there is the usual contributory pension plan, like US Social Security.)

Negroes and Eskimos

★ The Canadian items noted above come to $1.7 billion a year. US population is 10 times Canada's; GNP, 13 times. In other words, the US equivalent of what Canada is doing might cost us $17 billion or so a year. No parallel is exact. But compare this with the pathetically small amount spent for the pretentious war on poverty!

The Harlem Negro mother of four gets charity from some watchful social worker, and loses it if there is a man in the house. The Canadian Eskimo mother of four gets some $30 a month family allowance, *as a matter of right*, let alone what she earns or gets as charity. Something is strangely incongruous here. Even the US Chamber of Commerce has suddenly discovered guaranteed incomes, family allowances and negative income tax.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 155 Number 26 Issue 2718 December 24, 1966*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $9; Foreign $10; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright © 1966 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

The Hopeless Case

CONTENTS

COMMENT 5-9
The Hopeless Case, Democrats Who Talk Back, A New Arms Race, Budging Rhodesia

Rhodesia Through the Looking Glass – *Keith Kyle* 10
Supersonic Aircraft – To Build or Not To Build? – *Robert Burkhardt* 12
Black Mischief – *James Ridgeway* 14
The Wiretap War – *Robert M. Cipes* 16
The Rattle and The Snake – *Preston Duk* 22

Up from Cleverness *by Stanley Kauffmann* 24

BOOKS – *Reviews by Sam Halper, Philip Toynbee, Francis Biddle* 25

MOVIES *by Pauline Kael* 32

CORRESPONDENCE 35

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Books and Arts Editor – Robert Evett
Associate Literary Editor – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors – James Ridgeway, Andrew Kopkind
Staff Writer – David Sanford
Assistant to the Editors – F. R. Ruskin
Copy Editor – Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Pauline Kael

Publisher – Garth Hite
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
New York Advertising Representative – E. Laurence White, Jr., Good-Laidley-White 50 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Robert A. Scalapino, chairman of the political science department at the University of California at Berkeley, is a member of two panels of distinguished scholars who advise the Department of State on China and on East Asian and Pacific affairs. Mr. Scalapino has defended the administration's policy in Vietnam at "teach-ins" and on television. Now, in *The New York Times Magazine* of December 11 in an article titled "We Cannot Accept a Communist Seizure of Vietnam," he presents in language that eschews political polemics the case for our country's intervention in Vietnam. It seems to us as strong a case as can be made – and it's full of holes.

"We face a challenge in Asia," he declares at the outset, "similar in its proportions to that which we faced in Europe 20 years ago." The analogy sinks under the facts. In Europe 20 years ago, the United States and Western Europe accepted a cold war with the Soviet Union under Stalin, a man who was believed to be determined to dominate Eastern Europe and Germany, as well as to break through, perhaps militarily, to the Mediterranean. Dean Acheson told congressional leaders at the time: "Only two great powers remain in the world: the United States and the Soviet Union. There has never been a situation like this since ancient times when Rome and Carthage held sway." Compare this with present-day Asia and our actions there. We responded to Stalinist Russia by a mighty collective effort to strengthen the economies and defenses of Western Europe. We did not go to war to roll back communism. We did not even risk military intervention when civil war broke out in communist Hungary and we were called upon to help the Hungarians free themselves. Neither the threat in Asia today nor our response to it is similar. Indeed, Professor Scalapino proceeds to torpedo the analogy himself. Twenty years ago, the whole of Eastern Europe was an extension of iron-fisted Soviet power. There are no Chinese satellites dotting the map of Asia today. And China, unlike Russia in 1946, is in "an upheaval involving top party and army circles," as well as being at loggerheads with Russia. Mr. Scalapino notes too that a "leftist swing" has been reversed in Indonesia. He says that "the communists of Asia have never been so fragmented [and] the small communist states and parties of Asia have in some cases denounced both Moscow and Peking, seeking to form an alliance of the 'small' against the 'large' communists." "Some North Vietnamese are no doubt flirting secretly with the idea," he adds. So not only is the situation radically different in Asia now than it was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

20 years ago in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, but our response to the two situations also has been altogether different. This time, in the name of containment we have gone to war, and the enemy to be contained is not even the enemy we fear – China – but guerrillas inside Vietnam from whom we need not have had anything to fear.

Insofar as there is any parallel at all with Europe 20 years ago, an Asian Tito would now serve our interests. Scalapino thinks this too, and he has found one – Ho Chi Minh. He then explains what we must do to assure that Ho Chi Minh *will* become just that: "Vietnam communist independence will be meaningful only if Chinese power to the north is counterbalanced by some other power to the south, and if Hanoi is prepared to accept and work with a complex power relationship among Moscow, Peking and Washington." That power, he says, must be the United States. It is a curious deduction. For how does our war against Ho and his sympathizers pull them away from Peking and toward independence? And if US troops are in Vietnam to provide a counterbalance to China (which has no troops in Vietnam), how do we explain ourselves to South Vietnamese who thought we had come to fight for *them*? Mr. Scalapino is asking us to believe that it is *Hanoi* that needs our presence to assure the integrity of *communist* North Vietnam.

The American task thus becomes even larger than most of us suspected – to save all Asia, communist as well as noncommunist, from the voracious imperialist Chinese. Thus, he writes, "a pledge by the US and its Asian allies to accept the sovereignty of North Vietnam and to allow Hanoi to benefit from broad economic developments within the Southeast Asian region, while receiving economic and technical assistance directly from the Soviet bloc, may be the only method of assuring Hanoi's independence from Peking in the long run." But would not the same be true for a Vietnam totally under the control of Ho? And does it not follow from Scalapino's logic that we ought on the long view to applaud the Soviet Union for supplying North Vietnam with brand-new MIG-21s? And sure enough, Scalapino says quite gravely that the appearance on the North Vietnamese scene of the Soviet Union, with its sophisticated military equipment, has "served to reduce Chinese influence." That the MIG-21s are defending Hanoi from attacks by US bombers and that this incurs the daily risk of an armed clash between America and Russia he does not discuss.

Scalapino dismisses the "so-called National Liberation Front" as a mere tool of Hanoi's. But once again, he undermines his own statement. For he concedes that "there are northerners and southerners on both sides of the conflict," adding that "a reasonable estimate of the broadest political divisions in South Vietnam would probably assign the NFL some 15 to 20 percent support and opposition to the communists 35 to 40 percent, with the remaining citizens essentially apolitical, prepared to accept the winners." From this complexity he extracts a bewildering simplicity: "The gulf between the communists [Peking communists, Moscow communists, Tito communists, "small" or "big" communists?] and ourselves is fundamentally over whether Vietnam shall be a unified communist state or one divided into a communist north and a noncommunist south." But all Vietnamese political leaders, including Ho Chi Minh and Marshal Ky, want a unified Vietnam, and the Geneva Agreements of 1954 (which this country is supposed to be willing to return to) posited a solution of that sort through elections. Scalapino gets around that fact by saying that this goal is "defective if not fraudulent," and not just because elections could not be free. If there could have been free elections, then "undoubtedly Ho Chi Minh would have been one of those elected, and quite probably he – as an individual – would have received the largest single number of votes."

Scalapino rejects the "enclaves" plan whereby American forces in South Vietnam would hold military strongpoints while the South Vietnamese army fights the war. This, he says revealingly, "would have destroyed all hope of any viable political alternative to communism in South Vietnam," because it would have "supported the false thesis that our interests lay only in military bases and the retention of American power," and "would have given the communists explicit indication of both the limit and the desperate nature of our commitment." In other words, since the communists would win if the decision were left to the Vietnamese it cannot be left to them.

What's to be done? Scalapino suggests that "we together with our allies (especially the Koreans) should concentrate upon the speedy training of new South Vietnamese Army forces, so that they can ultimately take up the primary task of coping with the Viet Cong." In spite of this damaging admission – what have the South Vietnamese forces been doing all these years? – Scalapino calls himself a "cautious optimist." He acknowledges that "the so-called pacification program is not going well. . . . The war cannot be lost militarily, but it can be lost politically. . . . A social revolution in the countryside must be sponsored by the South Vietnamese government as its top political priority. . . . Corrupt and inefficient officials must go. Programs like land reform . . . must come – and now." But how many years of coaxing, funding, threatening and advising will it take to convert our Vietnamese to this Great Society? And are these goals for Vietnam dearer to Marshal Ky than they are to Ho Chi Minh?

Partly Scalapino's optimism may be based on faulty

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

information. Thus he states confidently that "the bombings have hurt the North, and hurt it badly," and that "the physical condition of northern infiltrators and the amount of supplies they can bring with them are additional evidences of the effect of the bombings." If he thinks this, he is being cozened, possibly by Air Force Secretary Harold Brown, whose official assertions he appears to be echoing. A Senate investigating team just back from South Vietnam reports, according to Senator John Stennis, that the rate of infiltration is three times what it was a year ago, and adds: "The enemy remains tough, disciplined, well-trained, determined and full of fight."

Sincerely as he tries, Scalapino can do no more than other administration defenders to demonstrate that any vital national interest of the United States is at stake in Vietnam. When he enlarges the scope of his concern to embrace Asia, he barely mentions India, Pakistan and Japan, and can only suggest that if Ho Chi Minh were a sensible man, he would be accepting our aid (when did we offer it?) instead of China's, while still leaning on the Soviet Union. Conscious perhaps that so confused a scenario scarcely justifies massive military intervention and casualties, he resorts to moral indignation to stifle doubt: "If we ever reach a position where our legitimate concern about the miseries of war enables any aggressive force to use violence with impunity, will we then deserve to be called moral?" But in that case instead of helping to feed Nasser we should be fighting him in Yemen, where he is keeping a civil war going. Instead of trading with South Africa, we should be at war with its minority white government, intervening in behalf of the blacks who wish to be free. There, and no doubt in other places as well, we could if we were foolhardy enough, incur what Scalapino views as our sacred moral obligation in South Vietnam – "providing a military umbrella under which the process of building a nation can take place."

Many people, who may not wholly buy the Scalapino case, nevertheless say that since we are there, we must stay and see it through. See it through to what? To the surrender of the Viet Cong and of Hanoi and their abandonment by both the Chinese and the Russians? Scalapino opposes taking any steps that would "involve us directly with either China or the Soviet Union." Yet these *are* the steps we are taking, and no one knows what further steps the administration will feel driven to take to appease a restive American public. The way out is not in the direction of more military pressure but in a political settlement through inclusion of the National Liberation Front in a new Saigon government that will make peace. And the first step in that direction could be Senator Mansfield's proposal last week for a "cease-fire and standfast," not just for 48 hours at Christmas time, but on into the New Year.

Democrats Who Talk Back

It was probably a mistake for the College Young Democrats to think they had any power within their parent party. The point about "young" anything organizations is that they are used by the adult groups for whatever services they can perform, but kept isolated from participating in decisions. The CYD (an offshoot, but not a functional part of the older Young Democrats) was founded in 1959, in preparation for the big Democratic electoral push the following year.

But in recent months the College Young Dems began overstepping the bounds prescribed for them by the Democratic National Committee. For whatever reason, some of the youngsters did not seem to like the President, who, after all, was also party leader. "The President's personality discourages many young people," the CYD executive secretary, W. Gary Winget, said recently. More than that, the students were decidedly opposed to the war in Vietnam. And so, as some parents will, the committee kicked the College Young Democrats out of the house.

The proximate cause was a resolution the CYD passed last September, expressing "earnest and sincere disapproval of the present administration policy in Vietnam." National committee functionaries were appalled. They refused to let the CYD duplicate the document on office machines, nor would they pay for mailings to the 700 college clubs around the country.

But the students persisted in their dissent, and leaked word of the resolution – and the committee's opposition – to the press. Whereupon, the committee's acting treasurer, John Criswell, fired Winget – the CYD's only paid employee. Then, Criswell announced that the whole CYD organization was dissolved, because the party apparatus needed "reorganization."

The boot came shortly after the November congressional elections, when it became apparent that reorganization of some kind was needed. But it may be that the action against the CYD will be counterproductive. The group can continue to exist in some form entirely on its own.

Winget and the CYD president, Dale Wagner, cannot believe that Criswell was the lone assassin. They half suspect that presidential assistant Marvin Watson was wielding his famous hatchet. In any case, the CYD may be more glorious, or more important, in dissolution than it ever had been before. The bureaucratic nervousness of the national committee forced the students to be serious about their role, and to think hard about the uses of dissent. They might perform a significant service to their party if they tried to make a go of it alone – without stamp money, if necessary – and teach the Democratic National Committee a little lesson about what "democratic" means.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Is the Law?

"The conception of political equality from the Declaration of Independence, to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, to the Fifteenth, Seventeenth and Nineteenth Amendments can mean only one thing – one-person, one-vote." Thus spoke the Supreme Court in 1963, in *Gray* v. *Sanders*. Georgia, it held, could not constitutionally nominate, let alone elect, its governors and senators by the county unit system. The units assigned to counties did not correspond to populations, and since election was by a majority of county units, rather than of the popular vote, the system made it possible for the choice of a majority to be defeated. Subsequently, applying the one-person, one-vote criteria, the Supreme Court held that districts from which state legislators and federal congressmen are elected must be substantially equal in population, because otherwise the vote of one person would not be equal to the vote of another, with the consequence that the legislatures and the congress might be elected by minorities.

Last week, however, the Supreme Court held, five to four, that the Georgia legislature may choose between Lester G. Maddox and Howard H. Callaway, and elect either man governor. In the general election of November 8, Callaway received 449,894 votes, 47.07 percent of the total votes cast, and Maddox received 448,044, 46.88 percent. (Some six percent of the vote was cast for the third candidate, Ellis Arnall.) To be sure, the difference between Callaway and Maddox is not great, but nothing in last week's ruling is made to depend on the size of the difference. It could as well be quite large. So the will of the greater number of the people of Georgia may be defeated by the legislature, and more than likely it will be, since Callaway is a Republican, Maddox is a Democrat, and the legislature is overwhelmingly Democratic. Moreover, the Democratic members of the legislature took an oath – the oath that Rep. Charles Weltner of Atlanta would not take – "to support at the general election . . . all candidates nominated by the Democratic Party of the state of Georgia." The oath was no longer binding, said Justice Black, who spoke for the Court, because it applied to the general election of November 8, and that general election is over. But it is easily as arguable that the election of November 8 is not yet over, and will not be over until a governor is elected.

It is possible on various reasonable grounds to agree with Mr. Justice Black that Georgia may constitutionally empower its legislature to elect a governor, even a minority governor, in such circumstances as these. It is possible to agree that Georgia may simply empower its legislature to elect a governor under any circumstances. It is also possible to think that the Supreme Court's earlier apportionment cases were wrongly decided, and that the federal constitution has nothing to say about the ways in which a state organizes its institutions of government, or draws the line of its congressional districts. "People," said Chief Justice Warren in *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, in 1964, arguing for the principle of one-person, one-vote, "not land or trees or pastures, vote." But people, replied Justice Harlan, "are not ciphers," and "legislators can represent their electors only by speaking for their interests – economic, social, political – many of which do reflect the place where electors live." It makes sense, therefore, to represent places as well as people, and not to put exclusive emphasis on equality of representation. As nearly as is practicable, wrote Justice Black in *Wesberry* v. *Sanders*, also in 1964, speaking for a different majority than assembled under his banner this past week, "one man's vote in a congressional election is to be worth as much as another's." But, said Justice Harlan, "by focusing exclusively on numbers . . . the Court deals in abstractions which will be recognized even by the politically unsophisticated to have little relevance to the realities of political life."

In the view of many observers, Justice Harlan was right, and Chief Justice Warren and Justice Black were wrong. However that may be, the point of last week's decision is that Justice Black cannot have been right in the earlier cases, and right in this one as well. "I confess," wrote Justice Abe Fortas, in his brilliant dissent, "total inability to understand how the two rulings can be reconciled." If the county unit system is unconstitutional, and if a state may not apportion either house of its legislature in a way that might permit a minority of the population to elect a majority of the members of either House, how is one to justify the power of a malapportioned legislation – for the present Georgia legislature has been held to be unconstitutionally apportioned – to elect a minority governor? *Gray* v. *Sanders*, said Justice Black, was "only a voting case." But in every meaningful sense of the term, so was this case "only a voting case." We find the decision odd in point of law and dubious at the least in terms of justice.

A New Arms Race

Despite the new treaty (yet to be ratified) to ban nuclear weapons in space, pressures are building up which could set off another costly nuclear arms race between the US and Russia. The Soviet Union, according to Defense Secretary McNamara, is installing an anti-missile missile for the protection of its major cities and also speeding up installation of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). The Soviets are apparently bent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on reducing the strategic superiority advertised by the US in numbers of ICBMs on launchers (three or four to one). In response, the Pentagon proposes to replace the land-based Minuteman and the sea-launched Polaris with more powerful weapons that carry "penetration aids" and multiple warheads to confuse the radars of the Soviet defenses. The American missile force will reach its planned strength of 1,710 land- and sea-based launchers in the first six months of 1967. After that, if things go according to current plans, the force will be improved but not increased.

But the Joint Chiefs of Staff were never happy with McNamara's decision to cut off the missile force at 1,000 Minutemen, 54 Titan II land-based missiles and 656 Polaris missiles aboard nuclear submarines. At a minimum they would like to go back to an earlier McNamara plan for 1,200 Minutemen. The Chiefs would also like to have a costly new bomber for the Air Force. And they want an anti-missile missile system plus additional anti-aircraft defenses. The Joint Chiefs' wishes are well known in Congress, which this year took the advice of the Joint Chiefs over that of McNamara and President Johnson, and appropriated $167.9 million more for the Nike-X anti-missile, giving as reason the need to match Soviet action in ballistic-missile defenses. (The Nike-X has already cost about $2 billion to develop.) Congress did this while it was cutting funds for the war on poverty and foreign aid.

President Johnson has to take into account not only pressures from Republicans looking for another "missile gap" issue for the 1968 campaign, but for the reactions of allies who may feel less safe because of Soviet military steps. His recent gestures toward the Russians may be an attempt to convince them that, whatever he is forced to do to calm opinion here, he has no desire to reopen the arms race. Nevertheless he may announce in January that he will go ahead with a minimum anti-missile system, costing around $4 billion over five years. This could provide a sop to those who want some sign that the United States is determined to remain the strongest nuclear power. The danger is that they will want much more – ICBMs, a new bomber, and a vast, $40-billion anti-missile and anti-bomber defense system. And so, then, would the Russians.

Budging Rhodesia

A year ago a couple of hundred thousand whites in Rhodesia cut ties with Britain because Britain proposed transferring political power in Rhodesia to that country's four million blacks. The transfer to one-man, one-vote was to have been very gradual. There could not have been majority rule in Rhodesia for at least 15 years, but that was too fast for the whites. Since their "declaration of independence" they have muzzled a free press through censorship and created detention camps for political opponents. Britain throttled down trade with Rhodesia and has now asked the United States to tighten the squeeze. US Ambassador Arthur Goldberg supports British Foreign Secretary George Brown. "The international community," Goldberg told the UN on December 12, "will not tolerate the existence of a discriminatory system based on minority rule and in defiance of the United Nations and its principles."

Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson disagrees. In a letter *The Washington Post* published December 11 he wrote: "International law does not proclaim the sanctity of British dominion over palm and pine." The real point is just the opposite. As Goldberg told the UN Security Council, Britain has given independence to 28 former colonies or nearly a quarter of the membership of the UN. She is trying to do the same for the 95 percent of Rhodesians who are black. It's the white five percent that want to keep Rhodesia a colony: theirs.

Limited trade sanctions may not budge them, for they count on the support of their powerful neighbor, South Africa. In his article on the next page, Keith Kyle suggests that the US if need be should cut South Africa's oil and also reimburse Britain for losses on

Freedom

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Britain's trade with South Africa. That bridge is in the future. There should be more negotiating first. Britain never demanded immediate majority rule in Rhodesia as the price of Rhodesia's independence; the Rhodesian whites unlike the South Africans have not said that there never shall be one-man, one-vote. There's still time and room for compromise while sanctions are being applied. Most of the African countries are too mad with the Rhodesian whites and with South Africa to consider further discussion, but the US has leverage in Pretoria, London and Salisbury and should use it.

Rhodesia Through the Looking Glass

Smith's Declaration of (White) Independence

London

The layers of fantasy and make-believe in the Rhodesian crisis have become more numerous than any situation can truly bear. The present phase started in No. 10, Downing Street between the 7th and 10th of September 1964, when Mr. Ian Smith confronted the Conservative Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Commonwealth Secretary Duncan Sandys. At these meetings Smith made two statements which strained all credulity. The first was that his Rhodesia Front Party now recognized the 1961 constitution and wanted complete independence on this basis. The second was that 75 to 90 percent of Rhodesia's Africans wanted that too.

When faced with such preposterous statements what does one do? There are only two alternatives: (a) to call the man a liar, or perhaps just treat him as such without actually using the word, or (b) behave as if you think he is serious and devise some test against which to verify his assertions. Considering the balance of forces in Southern Africa, with Britain having absolutely no forces or civil servants on the ground in her nominal "colony," Conservative ministers cannot be blamed for choosing the second course. The then opposition headed by Harold Wilson has done exactly the same since it came into office.

As for the 1961 constitution, this contains a built-in mechanism designed to produce an automatic progression of the African majority to political power, paced according to their rising achievements in terms of education, income levels and property ownership. The then Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead, speaking to the UN in 1962 when he wanted to make the most favorable international impression, estimated that it would be 15 years before there would be African majority rule, and even then only if there had been an immense expansion of four-year secondary schools during that time.

It is important to remember that Mr. Smith's Rhodesia Front was a new party formed out of an amalgam of various oppositional fragments precisely in order to fight that constitution, and after it had passed to prevent its being implemented in the relatively liberal spirit which Sir Edgar had intended.

Even in the 1964 round with Conservative ministers Ian Smith was candid – or disingenuous – enough to say that he planned *after* independence to make a few changes in the constitution. One was to alter the method of amending the constitution itself. It subsequently emerged that what he had in mind was that in place of the existing provision for the "entrenched clauses" which made them virtually unamendable, he wanted to substitute a new procedure which would make them only too easily amendable by the Rhodesia Front. The "entrenched clauses," one may add, include the Bill of Rights and the mechanism for bringing the Africans toward majority rule. The spirit in which an easy amending process might be used was shown in a remark thrown off by Smith a year later, in September 1965, when negotiating with Harold Wilson. "He must make it clear," the official minutes record Smith as saying, "that the government party in Rhodesia did not believe in majority rule. They accepted that the 1961 constitution would eventually bring it about; but they would not take any action to hasten this process."

But it was the second of Mr. Smith's assertions to the obviously incredulous Conservative ministers that has led everybody concerned with the Rhodesian negotiations through the mirrors and into the looking-glass world in which they have been wandering ever since. Sir Alec Douglas-Home had publicly committed himself as far back as November 1963 to the principle of "no independence before majority rule" in Rhodesia. Mr. Smith told him that he would have to change his tune about this because the majority (*i.e.*, the Africans) did not want majority rule and did want independence. What's more, he said, he could prove it. Mr. Sandys suggested he should do so by means of a referendum. No, said Smith, the complex and sophisticated issues involved in the concept of independence were beyond the mental capacity of the average rural African.

But, said Sandys, you yourself have admitted the principle of the rural Africans voting in elections. (Smith had in fact told British ministers that after independence he would concede something approaching the "one man, one vote" principle in choosing MP's for the 15 seats out of 65 virtually reserved for Africans, largely because he hoped the nationalist parties would be less strong outside the townships where most pres-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ently qualified African potential voters are to be found.) That's different, said Smith. There's not much mental effort required in choosing between two candidates but there is in voting "yes" or "no" to independence before majority rule. Well, then, said Sandys, how about the rural Africans electing representatives to take part in a constitutional conference? That, said Smith, would undermine the chiefs. The Rhodesian leader argued almost in the same breath that (a) the chiefs and the chiefs only must be consulted because in African tribal society they are the only true spokesmen and therefore consultation with them is the most truly democratic course and (b) the Rhodesian government has been laboring hard to build the chiefs up from the low estate into which they had fallen, and that unless they and they alone are seen to be consulted they will never attain acceptance among their people.

In the end Smith went away after being told that he would have to do something better than simply ask the chiefs. At the same time the British government committed itself publicly to the formula that it would only grant independence once satisfied that its basis was "acceptable to the people of the country as a whole." The minutes show that this phrase, now famous as the Fifth Principle of the six to which the Wilson government has nailed its colors, was adopted to cover the retreat from the previous commitment to majority rule. But the retreat was conditional on Smith's somehow proving his point in a respectable way.

In the middle of the 1964 election, Smith tried to slide over the obstacle unnoticed. He announced that chiefs only would be consulted and asked the British government to appoint observers immediately. In their last hours of office, Douglas-Home and Sandys rejected this procedure and refused to name observers. Surprise, surprise, the chiefs and headmen, whose already shaky position would be fatally compromised by the rise of party politics in the rural areas voted unanimously for independence on Smith's terms.

This was the situation inherited by the Wilson government. Nothing in the meantime had essentially changed – except perhaps that Duncan Sandys, who was tough with Smith when in office, now as an opposition back-bencher favored giving in to him. We are still pursuing the mirage of putting to the test Smith's confident statements about African wishes. Just before Smith made his Unilateral Declaration of Independence in November 1965, it seemed there might be a compromise in the form of a Royal Commission of mixed British and white Rhodesian membership which would travel around taking evidence of African opinion and finally pronouncing on the wishes of "the people of the country as a whole." But just as the commission was about to go Smith slapped on a state of emergency which made it out of the question that the Africans should express themselves freely. Then followed UDI.

Subsequent "talks about talks" between London and Salisbury yielded no progress. Then when the deadline set by the Commonwealth prime ministers was about to be reached Smith accepted the invitation to the good ship *Tiger*. The working document drawn up on board concerned two subjects: the proposed independence constitution and the period of "return to legality." On returning to Salisbury and consulting his colleagues, Smith announced that they accepted the first but rejected the British plan for the second. At his press conference Smith said that the constitution was splendid and if only he had been offered this in 1965 there would have been no UDI. But the interim period of "return to legality" during which the Royal Commission would test African reactions to the proposed independence constitution would amount to submitting to "a Quisling government with a tough British proconsul supported by British troops."

This is moonshine. The constitution which Smith says he would have accepted in 1965 reproduces, point by point, the safeguards for African political progress insisted upon by Wilson in the negotiations before UDI and then rejected by the Rhodesians. As for the "return to legality," this represents an attempt to ensure the bare minimum conditions of freedom under which the Royal Commission would consult the African majority. The "Quisling government" would be headed by Mr. Smith, with five ministers out of 12 drawn from outside the Rhodesia Front. The "tough British proconsul" would be the harmless Rhodesian civilian governor, Sir Humphrey Gibbs, acting on the advice of Mr. Smith, and there would be no British troops. When questioned, Smith was extremely revealing about this farrago of nonsense. Supposing, he said, contrary to his expectations, the Royal Commission pronounced against him. He would then have given up his UDI, acknowledged the governor once more, and got nothing out of it.

So the long detour through the looking glass is nearly over. Wilson pledged himself, at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference, to withdraw all offers and embrace the principle of "no independence before majority rule" if Smith rejected this last round of talks, and provided also that the Commonwealth African members of the Security Council, Nigeria and Uganda, were helpful to Britain in steering through mandatory UN sanctions against the Smith regime of the limited kind that would not be absolutely ruinous to Britain.

The trouble is that these limited sanctions are widely expected to fail. There could thus be deadlock in the Security Council. Much therefore depends upon the United States. American interests are affected to a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

very limited extent by the list of banned Rhodesian exports which Foreign Secretary George Brown has proposed to the UN. America's chrome and tobacco imports from Rhodesia have increased since voluntary sanctions began and there is no legal way for the President to put a stop to them until the Security Council has acted.

But the African countries, including those in the Commonwealth, are demanding action against Rhodesia's imports of oil, which if enforced, would provide a much brighter prospect of toppling Smith. However, if the UN tried to enforce such a ban on a noncompliant South Africa, South African retaliation against British investments and trade could undoubtedly bring the pound sterling crashing down. A firm warning from the United States to South Africa that there is no limit to which America would not go in shielding the British economy from the side-effects of UN sanctions might alone cause Mr. Vorster to tell Mr. Smith that the game was up.

KEITH KYLE

Supersonic Aircraft – To Build or Not To Build?

Sometime in the next week or 10 days President Johnson must take a long look ahead and decide whether to ask Congress to authorize a five-year, $5-billion program to build the first of a new generation of commercial transport aircraft, capable of flying between New York and Los Angeles in two hours or less. The government, together with the aircraft industry, already has spent more than a quarter-billion dollars on preliminary research, development and design for such a supersonic (SST) plane. This heavy initial investment is one reason why most of the aviation industry expects the President to make a go-ahead decision. But in view of the current budget squeeze, caused by mounting costs of the Vietnam war, the President could well decide that the supersonic transport development program could be stretched out for a time, or even cancelled altogether.

Cancellation would cost the government much more than the $200 million to $300 million so far invested. Sales abroad of a US-built SST could bring in as much as $3 billion per year over a 10 year period or longer, in addition to providing employment for over 100,000 (taxpaying) workers in nearly every state for at least 18 years. The inflow of funds from overseas would materially help our balance-of-payments position. If no US supersonic transport is built, there would probably be more than a $3 billion annual outflow of dollars as this country's airlines were forced to buy their SST's from foreign plane builders.

Britain and France are well along in their plans to jointly design and build the world's first supersonic transport. Called the Concorde, the first prototype model is nearing completion in Sud Aviation's factory in Toulouse. First flight is scheduled for February 1968. A second prototype is being assembled by the British Aircraft Corporation at Filton, England, and is scheduled to fly in August 1968. A majority of the long-haul US flag airlines have placed orders for one or more Concordes; partly their orders are insurance against the possibility that no US supersonic transport will be built, and partly they are to meet the competitive threat posed by the other major airlines of the world when they begin to take delivery of their Concordes beginning in 1971.

Top Defense Department officials have made it clear that the SST program is a civilian effort, having little, if any, military value. Even so, Secretary McNamara will have a key role in helping President Johnson decide whether the SST program should go ahead with all possible speed, be stretched out as an economy measure or abandoned entirely. As chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on the SST program, Secretary McNamara earlier this month had placed before him the proposals of two airframe companies – Boeing and Lockheed – and two jet engine builders – General Electric and Pratt & Whitney – to build prototypes of two wholly different SST designs. Many in the airline industry believe that both Boeing and Lockheed should be given contracts to build, with 90 percent government money, prototype models of their two differing designs. Juan T. Trippe, chairman of Pan American, has publicly declared that the US should go ahead and build two competing SST designs. The Air Line Pilots Association, at their annual meeting in Miami Beach late in November, also called on the government to support both the Lockheed and Boeing designs.

Senator A. S. Mike Monroney (D, Okla.) is another who believes that two prototype designs should be built and flight tested. He argues that the extra cost – amounting to an estimated $1 billion – may seem large but spread over a production run of 500 or more SST's the price increase necessary to recapture the expense of a second prototype test program should amount to no more than five to seven percent. Senator Monroney feels this is a small price to pay for the assurance that the final design is the right one. There is even a chance that both designs will turn out to be the right ones,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the highly flexible Boeing design, as well as the more efficient Lockheed one will be built.

Boeing has proposed a design which features a "swing wing." From an aerodynamic standpoint, the variable platform of the Boeing wing gives the Boeing SST the advantages of three airplanes in one: a supersonic aircraft capable of sustained cruise at speeds of as high as Mach 2.7 (Mach 1 is equal to the speed of sound, or about 600 miles an hour) with the wings swept back at 72 degrees; an efficient subsonic (less than Mach 1) airliner when the wing is swept back at a lesser angle; slow-speed jet with high lift wings of only 30 degrees sweep that allow slow-speed landings very similar to present-day Boeing 707 and 727 jets. Boeing's proposed SST has a cabin wider than any of today's jetliners. It is designed to weigh about 300 tons and to carry 300 passengers. The Boeing SST proposal, made early in December to the Federal Aviation Agency for transmission to Secretary McNamara's committee, was made up of 89 separate books totaling 8,000 pages of documentation.

While Boeing has decided on a wing of variable geometry, Lockheed has built its SST proposal around a biplane concept which calls for two triangle-shaped wings, a large main wing aft and a small wing forward. This double delta, or "double duty" wing as Lockheed likes to call its design, is clean, simple, without complicated moving parts other than elevons for longitudinal control, and highly efficient at speeds above Mach 1. The wing design that Lockheed proposes to use has been extensively flight tested, and is currently in use on the fastest military plane in the world, the USAF's YF-12A, built by Lockheed. If President Johnson decides to pick a single airframe supplier on the basis of supersonic flight efficiency, many observers, including this reporter, believe Lockheed has to be the choice.

Unfortunately, supersonic flight efficiency may not be the principal basis for design selection. All aircraft, when they go supersonic, generate a shock wave which trails behind them in flight and reaches the ground in the form of a rolling thunderclap of sound. This so-called "sonic boom" is loudest directly below the path of flight, and can be heard at lesser intensity about 30 miles on either side of a plane flying supersonic. The loudness of this boom depends on the height of the aircraft, its size and weight, and to some degree its shape. At very low altitudes – 200 feet, say – even the boom made by the smallest of jet fighters is powerful enough to break windows and knock objects off the walls of a house. At 40,000 to 60,000 feet – the height at which most SST's will be traveling while flying at 1,800 miles an hour – the boom will be heard on the ground as a rumble of distant thunder. The boom from either Lockheed's or Boeing's SST is not likely to break any windows or do other damage, but tests run by the government over a period of years indicate that many people suffer fatigue from hearing sonic booms.

It is entirely possible that public reaction to sonic booms generated by the airline use of SST's will be so strong that the Federal Aviation Agency, which controls air traffic within the US will have to limit the speeds at which SST's can be flown over settled areas. Such limitations could mean that a large part of many "supersonic" flights would actually be at speeds lower than the speed of sound. For this type of service, the Boeing design would be more efficient than Lockheed's. Airlines with long-haul routes over water, or over sparsely-populated areas would be able to make maximum use of their SST's high speed capability. This is why such long-legged airlines as Aeronaves de Mexico are openly favoring the Lockheed design. On the other hand, short-haul trunkline carriers, such as Eastern Airlines, seem to prefer the British-French Concorde, which will be smaller and slower than either of the United States designs, and thus will have less of a boom problem.

In making up his mind how best to proceed, President Johnson must take all these factors into account. Then he must be immediately prepared to defend his decision, if it is to go ahead, against the many critics who are already calling the government's SST investment a waste of money. The program need not cost the taxpayer anything, and even could return handsome dividends to the Treasury. While it is true that the Treasury at the start will have to put up 90 percent of the cost of building the SST prototype, or prototypes, all of this investment is to be paid back with interest when the aircraft are sold. Final details of the payback have not yet been worked out, but a combination of direct payments by the airframe and engine builders and royalty payments by the using airlines, based on plane miles flown, is expected to be agreed upon.

In contrast to the wages and profits and tax-flow benefits that will accrue from a decision to go ahead with development of a supersonic transport, President Johnson must consider the cost of not going ahead. There will not only be a substantial adverse flow in the balance of payments resulting from purchase of foreign made SST's by US flag airlines, there is also the very real likelihood that US aircraft manufacturing facilities, like the once prosperous US shipyards, will be idled and finally shut down altogether as foreign builders take the leadership in commercial aviation development away from the US through control of the next generation of air transport aircraft. If this happens, the US aircraft builders would have to depend entirely on military contracts to stay in business, and these, too, would finally phase out, as they have in Britain, for lack of all-important commercial backup business.

ROBERT BURKHARDT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Black Mischief

by James Ridgeway

A group of black nationalists in Washington want to create a mercenary army of American Negroes to fight for the independence of central and southern Africa. By doing so, they hope to win a nation for themselves.

The leader is self-styled Colonel Hassan Jeru-Ahmed, a 42-year-old Washington Negro who as Albert Roy Osborne once sold wigs. His organization is called the Blackman's Volunteer Army of Liberation.

I first heard about the army when a friend sent me its militant "Declaration of Purpose" along with a message that had been put out to African embassies and UN missions. It said: "From the late Honorable Marcus Garvey to the martyred Malcolm X, Blackmen have directed their minds and hearts toward Africa, seeking relief from murder and an enslaved citizenship. In every instance our efforts have been stopped by whitemen. Whitemen who were, and are, interested only in retaining the slave labor of Blackmen and the plundering of our Motherland Africa. 1966 begins the final death throes of white rule over Blackmen to culminate when we, Blackmen of the earth, are all free and have returned to the land and people of our ancestry. . . . Throughout America there are millions of Blackmen and Blackwomen who desire to live the remainder of their lives, and to insure freedom for their children, within the Continent of Africa. There are thousands of these Black People that have dedicated their minds and efforts toward the future and are secretly and feverishly working to make this dream a reality. Searching out, and finding, the Blackmen and Blackwomen who understand that the only solution to their dangerously lived existence is to earn with their minds, bodies and blood, a land that can truly be called their nation.

"We will send to Africa to work and to fight and to build Black surgeons, physicians, nurses, dentists, teachers, and instructors, engineers and technicians and skilled women of every capacity, along with a volunteer army of the best-trained and hardiest Military Blackmen of the earth."

Back-to-Africa movements have not come to anything in the past. But to find out more I phoned the "army" and made arrangements to have an interview with Hassan.

The headquarters of the Black Star Regiment, the "army's" one unit, is located in a clutch of rooms over a wig store at 910 Kennedy Street, N.W., in a lower-middle-class Negro district. The ground floor door was locked and the window covered over with red and green paper. A sign said Blackman's Development Center. I rang the bell, and was asked over an intercom to identify myself. A buzzer unlocked the door, and going up a flight of stairs, I was greeted by Major Simba. He was dressed in olive green shirt and black trousers set off by an impressive lot of brass. Out of doors the volunteers wear blue berets. Simba ushered me into the reception room. On one wall was a photograph of Malcolm X, on another a big map of the United States with threads running from a pin stuck in Washington to other pins stuck in other cities. I was told the pins represented battalions. In the corner was a standard bearing the "army's" flag – red, black and green horizontal stripes. The flag was adopted from the Garveyite movement. Red is for blood, black for the color of the skin, and green for the land. A girl in African dress called Colonel Hassan over the intercom, and soon he appeared, a tall, slender man. Exchanging salutes with Major Simba, Hassan led me to his office in the front of the building. The blinds were tightly drawn, and Hassan gravely assured me guards were hidden across the street and behind the building, watching people who rang the buzzer down below. Hassan said he was sure people from the State Department, CIA, FBI, various white African governments, as well as various black African governments, were trying to find out about his "army," and he could not afford to take any chances.

The only hope for Negroes in America, Hassan said, was to quit the country and join their brothers and sisters in Africa. By helping *them* fight for freedom from white tyranny, American Negroes could win citizenship in a new Africa. Unlike other black nationalists who have culturally and emotionally linked themselves with Africa, Hassan intends to take people back there, to get land. Hassan said he had swung over to nationalism in prison, where he was sent for passing bad checks and where he met Muslims. Recently he has been negotiating with a number of African countries, which he refused to name. These dealings apparently hold some promise, for he claims to be taking five men and going to Africa the first of the year to carry forward negotiations.

On his return from Africa, Hassan said, he would bring into the open 31 branch offices around the country and set going a training camp in Westmoreland

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

County, Virginia. He says he has 34 acres there. His "army," he says, will help young Negroes avoid the draft if need be (Vietnam, he believes, is a senseless white man's war). Volunteers will go to weekly meetings at their local battalions, where they will be taught African history and Swahili, and become judo experts. Then they'll get their passports, and go to an independent African nation, and from there into the resistance in places like Angola, South Rhodesia and South Africa. (He told me transportation to Africa has been promised by a country he would not name.) The "army" also will collect needed supplies for African resistance movements. It wants to register with Congress as a lobby to push for a repatriation bill to give incentives to Negroes wanting to live in Africa.

As he talked, Hassan referred several times to the "international Jewish communist conspiracy." He believes the Jews have a death grip on the Negro ghetto economy and are milking it to support Israel.

I asked Hassan where he got the idea of international Jewish communist conspiracy. Hassan said he first began to be suspicious when he was a youngster working in a whisky store owned by two Jews. They tried to lure him into joining the Communist Party, he said. He successfully resisted the temptation, but the offer was made again elsewhere by other Jews. Hassan was not sure who directs the "conspiracy."

"The world is entering an era of positive racism," Hassan thinks. "The races must first be separated; countries must be nationalized; then you'll have a little peace in the world."

In addition to the support he hopes to get from African countries, Hassan is anxious to get money from the various groups who want Negroes to leave America. The colonel said he had received a heartening telephone call from George Lincoln Rockwell, who told him he was on the right track, and he had received overtures from the Liberty Lobby. There had been calls from the Ku Klux Klan and the Manion Forum. Hassan said he was also interested in making contact with representatives of the international Jewish communist conspiracy, but thus far this hadn't panned out.

When I talked with him, Hassan was trying to raise the money to pay a $500 telephone bill, as well as stave off eviction from his home. In the past he has been able to get up a little cash to support the army by selling wigs or running a termite extermination service. But negotiations with the Africans were hot and heavy, and left him no time for other matters.

The colonel said he was born in Washington, had never known his father, and went from high school to jail for yoke robbery. He was drafted at the start of the Second World War and served in the Air Force, both in Europe and later in the Pacific. The army impressed him, and while he was on duty in the Far East he fudged his orders so he could visit North Africa. He was much taken with the openness of the people, who gave him the name of Hassan, meaning handsome. After the war he ran a delicatessen in Washington for a while, but this ended with Hassan landing in prison again for passing bad checks. He was in and out of jail a couple more times for bad checks.

He was successful periodically in operating valet shops, used car lots and restaurants, he said, but these operations were always squeezed by creditors leaving Hassan with more bad checks. After one check-passing binge, Hassan was locked up for five years. While he was in prison his wife was murdered. On getting out, he remarried and became successful in the wig business, where he was known as "Mr. Tony." That was in 1962, when a wig craze hit Negro sections of Washington. In five months Hassan sold 7,000 wigs made from yak hair, and made $100 clear on each one.

Sickening of this business, Hassan pulled up stakes one evening and taking his wife and children drove to Los Angeles. There wasn't much of a future there, and pressed to make a living, he reverted to the wig hustle and became a wholesaler traveling up and down the coast. Hassan met Muslims in prison who made a strong impression on him and filled with bitterness toward the white merchants he always ended up working for, he turned toward nationalism. And on his trips up and down the coast he planned his "army" and recruited for it. Ironically, one of Hassan's wig enterprises was burned out in the Watts riot.

Drilling in the Backyard

I visited Hassan a couple of times more, hoping he would take me to a meeting of his Washington units. But the meetings kept being postponed. I never saw more than three men in the office, always in impeccable uniform. They were attended by two girls who served coffee. The men were bent over plans or charts or departing on mysterious missions. There are rumors of people seeing men in close order drill in the headquarters backyard. Officials in the State Department had not heard of the "army"; knowledgeable African diplomats dismissed it out of hand; contacts in Harlem knew nothing.

To whites and many Negroes, Hassan's "army" will seem a nightmare; and it probably won't ever amount to much. But Hassan's life – running from one hustle to another – is repeated a thousand times over in the ghettoes by black men who can't make it in a white society, until wrestling in the half world leads to an escape in fantasy.

On one occasion while I was talking with Hassan, a mysterious unnamed African dropped in. He sounded out the colonel on the strength of the organization,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Hassan promised he could muster 5,000 followers. The African didn't seem to care about the "army" and had only a passing interest in Hassan's desires for a country. But he was eager to recruit black technicians, mechanics, educators, as many as possible. But, he warned, the wages were low, living conditions in the bush poor, and he was having a hard time figuring out why American Negroes would want to go to Africa. Unless, perhaps, the "army" was filled with agents for some white government. He asked Hassan if the men could be trusted, and when Hassan assured him they could the African changed the subject, joked around a bit, said Africa was a wonderful place, then told a cheery story about a man who had turned out to be traitor to the cause. He was dangled by his heels from a 12th floor window, then dropped head first on the cement pavement below.

"Squish," said Hassan appreciatively.

The Wiretap War

Kennedy, Johnson and the FBI

by Robert M. Cipes

A strange political drama is unfolding. The cast reads like a Who's Who in Government: Senator Robert F. Kennedy, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Senator Edward V. Long, former Attorney General Katzenbach, Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark – and Lyndon Johnson. Also featured are star performers from the underworld, or near-underworld, such as Bobby Baker, Jimmy Hoffa, Las Vegas operator Edward Levinson, and assorted members of the Mafia. On the surface the plot sounds like a mere legal argument among judges, lawyers, and policemen about methods of criminal investigation. In fact, there may be much higher stakes involved – the Presidency, for one.

The subject matter is eavesdropping. The immediate issue is responsibility for alleged widespread eavesdropping carried on by the Kennedy administration during Robert Kennedy's service as Attorney General. Eavesdropping includes both "bugging" – the use of microphones or other electronic device to overhear a conversation – and wiretapping, the interception of telephone or wire communications. The distinction between the two forms of eavesdropping is often of crucial importance.

The present federal wiretapping statute, Section 605 of the Communications Act of 1934, prohibits the interception and divulgence of a telephone or wire message. This federal statute technically prohibits wiretapping disclosures by state officers, even where a state statute permits such practice. The difference between prohibition and enforcement is great, however. Practically speaking, state law enforcement officers have had immunity from Section 605 enforcement.

Eavesdropping, as opposed to wiretapping, is not prohibited by any federal law. It is outlawed in some state statutes, however, including Nevada. Thus, technically again, FBI agents who did bug Las Vegas casinos could have been prosecuted by local authorities.

Section 605 of the Communications Act applies to federal, as well as state, law enforcement personnel. But, at least since 1940, the government has made an exception in cases of national security or where human life is in danger. This exception is restricted to intelligence activities and any evidence obtained is not to be used in court. The exercise of the power is also subject to the express consent of the Attorney General. The FBI claims its maximum number of wiretaps at any one time is less than 100. But until last year there was no limitation on the number of "buggings," for which express consent of the Attorney General was not required. This distinction is one of the sources of confusion in the current Hoover-Kennedy controversy.

Attorneys General have consistently sought legislation from Congress which would permit them to order wiretaps in a class of cases broader than recognized under the executive power. Robert Kennedy was no exception. He proposed a bill to authorize tapping

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in cases of extortion, gambling, narcotics and other offenses which fall within the business of the organized crime syndicates. Kennedy had no more success with such legislation than his predecessors, though perhaps his need was greater.

Kennedy was attacking organized crime with unprecedented vigor. Much of his police work in these efforts was handled by the FBI, though J. Edgar Hoover had always opposed a massive campaign against the syndicates. Ostensibly, Hoover feared the infringement on local police and the evolution of a federal Gestapo, but cynics were probably closer to the mark when they pointed to his fear of failure – of lowering the Bureau's "batting average."

Kennedy also was intensively prosecuting James Hoffa and his Teamsters. The wars against Hoffa and the Mafia joined at some points. One of these was Las Vegas, heartland of the gambling industry where both Hoffa and the Mafia had business ties. The FBI concentrated a massive investigative effort on Las Vegas in the early sixties and, through a business front, set up a network of electronic surveillance which reached into a half dozen of the town's richest casinos, and the bedrooms of some of their owners.

The precise method of the Las Vegas eavesdropping becomes important now that Hoover has charged Kennedy with encouraging and approving the operation. FBI agents leased telephone lines from the local telephone company and connected them to microphones hidden in the bugged premises. The lines ultimately reached the FBI office where the subjects' conversations were monitored for almost a year. This kind of eavesdropping, though not a violation of any federal statute, did violate Nevada law. More important – since the bugging required a trespass into private premises, it constituted a violation of the Fourth Amendment, and evidence obtained thereby could not be admitted in a federal court.

The FBI agent in charge of the bugging, testifying recently in a federal extortion case, said its purpose was to investigate such matters as the true ownership of the casinos, the involvement of underworld figures, and the alleged practice of "skimming" by which some of the gambling take was removed before computing income taxes. Another agent said he was told to look for evidence of corruption of public officials.

One of the main targets of the investigation was Edward Levinson, operator of the Fremont Hotel, recipient of a large loan from the Teamsters Union. Levinson also happened to be a business associate of Bobby Baker, then secretary to the Senate majority and onetime protégé of Lyndon Johnson. It is difficult to know which of the two Levinson relationships had top priority for the eavesdroppers. One of the FBI agents testified that he was told as early as 1962 to watch for any mention of Bobby Baker's name.

It is not clear just when Kennedy's Justice Department began bearing down on Bobby Baker. By late 1963, however, Baker's activities were being investigated on a wide scale, a scale that was certain to involve if not implicate, the then Vice President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson. And it was rumored that the Kennedys were ready to dump Johnson from the ticket in 1964, though how far they would have been prepared to go to accomplish this purpose is uncertain. On October 7 Baker resigned his Senate job under a cloud of suspicion.

Within two months the tragic assassination of President Kennedy completely reversed the power positions of Robert Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. Many things were to slow down in Washington, not the least of which was the Baker investigation.

Meanwhile, in Las Vegas, Levinson had accidentally come upon the bug hidden in his office and had spread the news to other casino operators who found similar bugs. Levinson hired an attorney to prepare a multimillion dollar lawsuit against the telephone company for invasion of privacy. Later the suit was expanded to include four FBI-eavesdroppers as conspirators. The attorney hired by Levinson was Edward Bennett Williams, the nation's top criminal lawyer. Williams was also soon to become counsel to Bobby Baker, replacing Abe Fortas, who withdrew when his intimate friend, Lyndon Johnson, became President. (Fortas' association with Baker would preclude him from sitting in the Baker-related cases when he later became a Justice of the Supreme Court.)

Shortly after President Johnson took office he was approached by or on behalf of Governor Grant Sawyer of Nevada with news about the Las Vegas caper and a request to call off the eavesdropping operation. This was promptly done. The connection between the Levinson and the Baker cases became clear in February 1964 when Bobby Baker took the Fifth Amendment before a Senate investigating committee. He said that his "privacy of communications has been invaded by agents of the government."

It was at this time also – in what perhaps should be called a subplot of the major drama – that Bob Kennedy's six-year campaign against Jimmy Hoffa culminated in Hoffa's conviction for jury-fixing. Hoffa at that trial had accused the Justice Department and the FBI of electronic eavesdropping. But though Hoffa imported the nation's foremost wiretapper, Bernard Spindel, to check on the government, he could not make

---

ROBERT M. CIPES, *a Washington, D.C. attorney and writer, is a former federal prosecutor now at work on a book,* The Crime War, *to be published next spring by New American Library.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the accusation stick. (Hoffa and Spindel were old acquaintances; they had been acquitted in 1958 in a Kennedy-inspired prosecution for alleged wiretapping on fellow teamsters.)

Though Hoffa's eavesdropping charges against Kennedy failed, he seemed to have luck with a similar claim – that Kennedy had planted a "human bug" in his hotel suite, informer Edward Partin. This claim attracted the attention of the Supreme Court and it looked to legal observers like a sure win for Hoffa – until the anti-Hoffa decision came down on Monday, December 12.

To return to the Baker case, a Senate investigating committee covered the ground of Baker's activities but did not dig very deeply. This was hardly surprising since the committee was dominated by Democrats loyal to the President and the 1964 election was coming up. Even so the Baker case and corruption-in-the-White House emerged as the Republicans' major campaign theme, accompanied by cries of "whitewash."

Baker Investigation Revived

The tenor of the campaign apparently convinced Johnson that he owed it to his historical image – if not to his chances in 1968 – to do something about the Baker case. The investigation revived. After an intensive grand jury inquiry, Baker in January 1966 was finally indicted. The offenses charged seemed a little pale, the amounts of money involved not too large. Baker was accused of defrauding several persons and of failing to report some items of income. From the lengthy grand jury investigation, one might have expected the government to come up with something more colorful. The limited scope of the indictment will surely minimize the embarrassment to President Johnson and other onetime Baker friends, if Baker comes to trial.

It has lately been rumored that Bobby Baker will never be convicted, that at a strategic moment the hand of the President will swoop down and save him. Such speculation underestimates the political acumen of the President. No dramatic gesture will be required to save Baker, for the chain of events which may lead to his salvation has already been set in motion though the participants themselves may not yet know exactly how, or at what stage, the curtain will be drawn.

But the salvation of Bobby Baker is not the whole story of the Baker case. The case has become the background for the bitter political struggle between the President and Senator Kennedy. If the Baker case threatened to be the downfall of Johnson in late 1963, and again in the 1964 campaign, it now seems to threaten the political future of Kennedy. The image of Kennedy as the overzealous hunter has been remarkably remade in the past two years. A recent profile, for instance, said he was "surely as trustworthy as any other prominent politician with the liberties of the people." What effect will the eavesdropping disclosures have on the new Kennedy? Do they have relevance to the things which youth, minority groups – the millions who we are reminded will soon control the electorate – care deeply about?

For the Baker case to die gracefully the public must be receptive – to the message that the end does not justify the means, that it is better to let the criminal escape than to sanction the lawlessness of the prosecutor. That the message should be conveyed in the context of eavesdropping, rather than some other form of official lawlessness, has an advantage. For freedom from invasions of privacy is a value that everyone can understand. Yet the laws relating to privacy are infinitely complex, and the danger great that what looks like a black and white issue of morality can deteriorate into a legal quibble about details. Still, what an act of political strategy it would be for the President to save Baker and tarnish Kennedy with the same stroke!

The assault on Kennedy began before he left the Attorney General's office. Senator Eastland, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, had a subcommittee on administrative practice and procedure. Under Senator Edward V. Long, its chief occupation would be to review certain prosecutive policies and practices of Attorney General Kennedy. The Long investigation was welcomed by enemies of Kennedy, particularly Jimmy Hoffa and Roy Cohn. Cohn had just been acquitted of perjury and obstruction of justice in what he claimed was a Kennedy-Morgenthau (US Attorney Robert M. Morgenthau) vendetta against him. It was during Cohn's trial that Robert Morris, former counsel to Eastland's internal security subcommittee, urged the Senator to conduct such an investigation. Eastland and Cohn were friends from the McCarthy days.

Cohn soon arrived in Washington to testify before the Long subcommittee. He came fresh from his victory over Kennedy. (Both Eastland and Dirksen had sent him congratulatory telegrams after his acquittal.) Cohn told the subcommittee not only about alleged violations of his own rights by the Justice Department (in particular, an incident involving surveillance of his mail), but he also testified on behalf of Hoffa. He claimed that a memo in the files of *Life* magazine indicated that Kennedy had inspired an anti-Hoffa article. Cohn's testimony formed the background for the subcommittee's later interrogation of Kennedy. By then a senator, Kennedy was treated with virtual contempt by the subcommittee counsel when he was asked whether he had used a "fink" or "stool pigeon" to prepare anti-Hoffa material for *Life*.

But the principal focus of the Long inquiry was on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government eavesdropping activities during the Kennedy administration. Its special target was the Internal Revenue Service which had prepared a number of income tax cases against crime figures. (Long was strangely silent, however, on the subject of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI.) Long's exposure of eavesdropping has not been confined to his subcommittee hearings. He has personally authored several articles in national magazines on the subject, and the work of his committee has inspired others.

In testifying last year before Senator Long's subcommittee, Attorney General Katzenbach had remarked that the use of wiretaps or similar illegal devices in criminal cases was "just like a grant of immunity." There is no indication he had in mind the Baker case, for certainly there was no intention to give Baker immunity at the time his conversations were bugged. But to some observers Katzenbach's statement meant something else – that the ultimate failure of the Baker case must have been obvious at the time Baker was indicted. Any such implication has been vigorously denied by Katzenbach.

Last May Bobby Baker got his first major "break." The Solicitor General issued an unusual memorandum, advising the Supreme Court that the FBI in 1963 had installed a listening device in the hotel suite of Fred B. Black, Jr. (whose income tax conviction was before the Court). Black was Baker's close business associate and Baker transacted business in the suite almost daily. This meant that some of his conversations must have been picked up by the FBI which monitored the bug 24 hours a day for almost three months.

The Court asked the government for complete details about the bugging in order to determine what to do with Black's tax case. The Solicitor replied that the bugging had taken place pursuant to an organized crime investigation of Black. Justice Department attorneys prosecuting the tax case had seen FBI reports based in part on the bugging, but were not aware of the source, and had not made use of the reports in any event. In August 1965 "in connection with an inquiry on an unrelated matter" (certainly the Baker case), "the FBI informed the Attorney General and the Criminal Division . . . that a listening device had been installed in [Black's] hotel suite." The Solicitor said that it was not until April 1966 that Justice Department attorneys were aware that conversations between Black and his attorney had also been bugged. That discovery was the basis for the confession to the Court. Thus, as of last summer, the Department was taking the position that eavesdropping of the Black and Las Vegas variety was not illegal *per se*, but only if it infringed on an otherwise protected relationship, such as the right to counsel.

The Court reversed Black's conviction and ordered a new trial. In doing so it hedged on the legality of the eavesdropping, stating merely that the new trial would afford Black "an opportunity to protect himself from the use of evidence that might be otherwise inadmissible." Justice Harlan (dissenting) protested that the Court had gone further than necessary since there was no proof that any of the bugged evidence had been used in the tax case; he favored a hearing on that limited question. In what seems like an overstatement – but which some may take as a clue to the fate of the Baker case – Harlan said: "The only basis I can think of for justifying this decision is that any governmental activity of the kind here in question *automatically* vitiates . . . any conviction occurring during the span of such activity."

Disclosure of the Black bugging was a cue for Edward Bennett Williams to intensify his defense of Bobby Baker. He moved to suppress any evidence obtained by eavesdropping on Baker in Black's suite. The FBI produced transcriptions of all conversations involving Baker, claiming that none related in any way to the subject matter of the indictment. But Williams was not satisfied and convinced the trial judge that the FBI agents who monitored the bug should themselves appear as witnesses. They did and were subjected to

"We're in this thing together, Bobby."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

humiliating cross-examination. Privately commended for their work, they had never bargained on becoming "patsies" in a publicized trial. Williams pushed still further and asked the court to order J. Edgar Hoover to appear as a witness to disclose his eavesdropping practices. The motion has not been acted upon at this writing. To Hoover, already burning from Robert Kennedy's earlier repudiation of the Las Vegas buggings, and from the humiliation of his agents in the Baker case, the demand for his own appearance must have been the ultimate insult. He would not suffer in silence for long, however.

In the midst of these events, Attorney General Katzenbach left the Justice Department to take the number two position at State. Katzenbach's Deputy, Ramsey Clark, took over as Acting Attorney General. Unlike Katzenbach, a Kennedy holdover, Clark (son of Supreme Court Justice Tom Clark) was on close personal terms with the President. Under Ramsey Clark's direction, the Justice Department undertook an aggressive review of prior prosecutions to determine where eavesdropping abuses had taken place. This review could hardly have been undertaken by Katzenbach, who as Kennedy's Deputy was identified with the very prosecutions being questioned.

Clark's New Policy

On November 3, Clark issued a memorandum to all United States Attorneys summarizing his new policy: "This Department must never proceed with any investigation or case which includes evidence illegally obtained or the fruits of that evidence. No investigation or case of that character shall go forward until such evidence and all of its fruits have been purged and we are in a position to assure ourselves and the court that there is no taint of unfairness."

Following this policy, the Solicitor General confessed error in the income tax case of Joseph F. Schipani, who seems to have been a target in the organized crime drive, and the first of what promises to be a long line of convicts who will indirectly benefit from the "wiretap war." In Schipani the Solicitor's brief followed the general pattern of the Black case, but with an important exception. Now the government was prepared to say that the microphone was installed "by means of a trespass" and that the bugging was therefore illegal *per se* (a concession which simultaneously was being made by the government trial attorney in the Baker hearings, regarding the Black bugging.) The government also acknowledged in Schipani that the illegal evidence "provided investigatory leads and other information" used against the defendant and therefore the conviction could not stand. The brief concludes with a reference to the new review policy and to the present governmental policy – declared by the President on June 30, 1965 – barring *all* electronic surveillance (bugs as well as taps) except in national security matters and then only for intelligence purposes and with the specific consent of the Attorney General.

What was the impact of all this on J. Edgar Hoover? Hoover became the scapegoat for public outrage at the bugging disclosures, though he claimed not to have initiated them and had not approved the crime campaign in which they were used. Hoover did, however, favor legalized wiretapping, and naturally came to the defense of his men involved in the Las Vegas and other operations. In favoring wiretapping, Hoover ran solidly into the opposition of Acting Attorney General Clark. Their forum was the National Crime Commission. Clark asked the Commission to stay away from the wiretapping issue, but Cartha DeLoach, Hoover's assistant, persuaded the members, 17-2, to recommend wiretap legislation.

It was not inconsistent for Hoover to acknowledge his participation in illegal eavesdropping and at the same time resist accepting full blame for it. Katzenbach had gone, Ramsey Clark had no contact with the Criminal Division during the 1961-1963 period. There was one person, however, at whom Hoover could point his finger and perhaps get away with it – Robert Kennedy. He pointed.

On December 11, Hoover released an exchange of letters between himself and Representative H. R. Gross who had inquired about the eavesdropping controversy. Gross wanted to be sure that any eavesdropping in which the Bureau had engaged was authorized. "I dislike seeing the good name of the FBI damaged by what would appear to be unfounded allegations that the agency was acting without authority from the Attorney General." Gross' inquiry gave Hoover an opportunity finally to present his side. Hoover replied that the FBI's use of microphones was authorized by Kennedy, that Kennedy himself had listened to results of microphone surveillances and that "FBI usage of such devices . . . was obviously increased at Mr. Kennedy's insistence while he was in office."

Hoover sent Gross a copy of a memorandum dated August 17, 1961, from Courtney Evans, then an Assistant Director of the FBI and liaison man with Justice. This memo, which bears Kennedy's signature of approval, sought permission to lease special telephone lines in order to monitor an electronic surveillance. Evidence of the Attorney General's approval of such leasing was required by the telephone companies. The memo distinguished between wiretapping and bugging, making it clear that the leased lines had no relationship to interception of telephone communications. They were to cover situations "when it is impossible to locate a secure monitoring point in the vicinity of the prem-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ises covered by the microphone." It should have been clear from Evans' memo that a trespass would be necessary in planting the mikes, but there is no indication that Kennedy had any sophistication about this distinction between legal and illegal bugs. Evans' memo added: "If we are permitted to use lease telephone lines as an adjunct to our microphone surveillance, *this type of coverage can be materially extended both in security and major criminal cases.*"

Denying knowledge of the use of such bugs, Kennedy had his own document, but it was less convincing. It was a letter written by Evans at Kennedy's request on February 17, 1966 (indicating that Kennedy anticipated a public confrontation with Hoover). The substance was that Evans had never discussed with Kennedy the use of such bugging devices, because the practice in the Department had been to secure the Attorney General's consent only in wiretapping, as opposed to eavesdropping, cases. Evans did not refer to the general authorization which Kennedy signed.

An additional letter which Hoover supplied to Gross was written in May 1961 by the then Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division. This letter reported that the FBI had only 67 electronic eavesdropping devices in operation, mostly in the field of internal security "with a few used to obtain intelligence with regard to organized crime." If these facts – which the FBI obviously supplied at the time – were true, they would tend to support Hoover's claim that the use of such devices had been drastically stepped up during the Kennedy administration. But the claim was weakened the next day by another document Hoover released. This was an Evans memo to a superior in the FBI, written July 7, 1961, more than a month before the Kennedy authorization. Evans reported that the Attorney General was contacted about the possibility of using electronic devices in organized crime investigations. "It was pointed out to the Attorney General that *we had taken action with regard to the use of microphone surveillances*" and that "he was pleased we had been using microphone surveillances" rather than additional wiretaps. The nature of the microphone surveillances was not clear, however.

With Hoover as custodian of the files Kennedy was at a disadvantage, but he was backed up by men like Evans (once considered the Kennedys' choice to succeed Hoover) and William Hundley, former chief of the organized crime section. Hundley said he was present on the occasions when Kennedy heard transcriptions of bugged conversations, and that the latter was not aware of the nature of the bugging, nor had they ever discussed it. Among those asked to comment was Nicholas Katzenbach. He took the conciliatory view that Hoover honestly thought his bugging activities were authorized although in fact Kennedy had not authorized them.

The Justice Department had already taken an official position on the controversy, though it seemed to escape notice in the heat of the Kennedy-Hoover exchange. The Solicitor's brief in the Black case (as in the Schipani case) stated: "Under Departmental practice in effect for a period of years prior to 1963, and continuing into 1965, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was given authority to approve the installation of devices such as that in question for intelligence (and not evidentiary) purposes when required in the interest of internal security or national safety, including organized crime, kidnappings and matters wherein human life might be at stake. Acting on the basis of the aforementioned Departmental authorization the Director approved installation of the device involved in the instant case."

This certainly seems to support Hoover and to place responsibility for any illegal bugging that took place on Kennedy. At the same time, however, the Black brief indicated that Justice officials were not aware of the cases in which bugging was actually used.

Perhaps the quarrel between Kennedy and Hoover could be reduced to a question of semantics. If "authorization" meant "general authorization," Hoover had it. If it meant, "specific authorization," Hoover did not. This may have been Katzenbach's meaning. There still remains the question of whether Hoover actually needed specific authorization for each bug; on the basis of prior practice, and as indicated in the Solicitor's brief in *Black*, he did not. (At the peak of the controversy Senator Long invited Kennedy and Hoover to air the entire matter before his subcommittee, an invitation which Kennedy at least is certain to refuse.)

Senator Kennedy might not have been so defensive in his response to Hoover had the quarrel broken a few days later. For on Monday, December 12, the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of Jimmy Hoffa, overruling the claim that Kennedy used illegal methods to convict him. Thus an ugly scar on Kennedy's image

COMING: *Brian Wenham explains why London is swinging no more*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had been removed. If the Supreme Court – probably the closest thing we have to a public conscience – was not disturbed by Kennedy's methods, it is a safe bet that the Kennedy image has more than survived the vendetta charges against him. A December 14 *N. Y. Times* editorial probably typified the reaction of Kennedy's New York constituency: "Dependence on an informer under unpressed charges of embezzlement, kidnapping and manslaughter is no credit to the judicial process, nor is the wholesale use of electronic eavesdropping equipment on the scale that prevailed in the Hoffa surveillance. Yet, the four-judge majority was right in observing that history has made manifest the impossibility of smashing such criminal conspiracies without frequent reliance on help from the most sordid of insiders."

But this is not quite the end of the assault on Kennedy. All that the *Times* editorial shows is the difficulty of identifying with the predicament of a Jimmy Hoffa: you and I do not associate with men like Partin in the first place. But we do use the telephone, and we do have private conversations in our homes and offices. It is here that the climate of the wiretap war creates anxiety and fear. Two columns over from the December 14 editorial, James Reston wrote that "the Kennedy-Hoover Controversy" has dramatized the dangers of widespread eavesdropping. No one is safe. Not reporters, not diplomats, not even Martin Luther King. But where does Reston come out? President Johnson, he says, "could deal with the problem personally. He could define the limits of legitimate wiretapping more strictly. He could seek new legislation to deal with it. But unless he does, the doubts and wiretapping will continue, and add to the 'credibility gap,' which is already poisoning the administration's relations with the public."

Despite the President's highly restrictive order on eavesdropping; despite the fact that, as his press secretary stated, none of the events involved in the current dispute occurred during his administration; despite these things we find – if Reston's feelings are widely shared – that the issue may not be the credibility and ethics of Bobby Kennedy after all, but those of Lyndon Johnson. What, then, does the wiretap war mean? The undermining of public confidence in the conduct of government (even of a prior administration) is a matter not easily controllable. Like all campaigns of psychological warfare, it risks one's own security as much as that of the enemy. Its infectious quality poisons the atmosphere in which leadership must continue to function. That it may return to plague Lyndon Johnson is perhaps the supreme irony of the wiretap war.

The Rattle and The Snake

Patterns & Paradoxes in the US of A

In the bitterly cold autumn of 1932, I accompanied the patriot John Nance Garner on his epochal 12,000-mile "Long Campaign" from the wastes of Texas, through the Out West, back across the Wide Missouri, and triumphantly into the asphaltic Eastern Seaboard. I have total recall of that epic trek, and I can recount to you now verbatim what Candidate Vice President Garner said one day, as he ate his customary bowl of *chi-li* in his *rancho* in Red River County. "A snake," Garner whispered, picking out a bean from the dish with that curious native instrument, the *fork*, "will always rattle before he bites."

Today, when relations between the US of A and our country are unfortunately minimal, I often remember that succinct example of the Thought of Vice President Garner, for it embodies the essential *pattern* and *paradox* of the US of A. The "rattle" is the series of events which inevitably foreshadows the decisive "bite" of American actions. What is paradoxical is that the events are seemingly unconnected and have little intrinsic significance, but are of great moment in reality.

We americologists are, of course, prohibited from making frequent on-the-spot visits to "those portions of the US of A under capitalist control," although I was privileged to be granted an exit permit and visa to pay homage to the exiled Vice President on the occasion of his 118th birthday celebration in Uvalde, Texas. But for the most part, we best understand the drift of Capitalist American (Cap-Am) policy by analyzing the day-to-day events as seen in the clipping file of Jen-min Jih-pao, and by spending months in the various "listening posts" our government has established on the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

borders of the US of A, in Albania, Afghanistan and Novaya Zemlya.

What is one to make of the fantastic and bizarre events which seem to be rocking the American continent? The tumult began last spring, when all mention of the current Vice President, Humphrey, was omitted from press and broadcasting reports. Humphrey, the heir-apparent to aging, ailing President L. B. Johnson, seemed to have fallen into disfavor. Shortly thereafter, the daughter of the Senate Majority Leader, Mansfield (the Democratic Party's chief ideologist), moved to London. The Algerian ambassador to Washington began to be seen in the company of Miss *America*. In midsummer, the Black Guards, alternately wooed and suppressed by the notorious White Power Structure, rioted in several key industrial cities, and had to be placated with gifts of chlorinated-water tanks ("daley machines"), and expanses of suit-clothing (vest-pockets") piled in "parks."

No sooner had those rebellions subsided, when the smoldering unrest of the White Guards (remnants of the bourgeoisie) erupted in the Commune of Berkeley – the "backyard," as it were, of the leader of the Western Revisionist clique, the opera-star Reagan. Whereupon, the great purges of the Department of Justice began, first with auto-confessions of the use of germ-warfare ("bugging") on the daring partisans of the Underground (the "Hoods"). The courts were forced to reverse time-honored decisions and release the folk-hero Sam Sheppard and, by no coincidence, at the same time seat one of the Black Guards (who had partially recanted) in a provincial legislature. Finally, after a huge rally of Mental Health forces (SANE) in the Square Garden built by President Madison in the Good Feelings Dynasty, the *marriage de convenance* of the Democrat Rockefeller and the Republican Percy was arranged.

The first clue to the emerging *pattern* was seen in the remarks of L. B. Johnson in his press conference of November 29 – by no accident held in Texas, the *very same state* where Garner began the Long Campaign. The intent was very clearly to revive the dying Spirit of Uvalde. A questioner asked, "How are the cattle prices? We know a Texas rancher who has cattle."

"We don't sell cattle for meat," the President answered, quoting from Canto XXXVI of his *Rhymes*. "We sell cattle for breeding purposes, so that the price does not affect that at all."

"How many cattle do you have?" the questioner continued.

"I do not want to be held to it," Johnson said, "but it is somewhere in the neighborhood of 100. There are mother cows, and some of them have calves *and some of them do not have* [emphasis mine]. Most men are proud of their bulls. I also have a communication on the Asian bank meeting, and here is a detailed report from Mr. Black. He will be here later in the month. There are appointments to other commissions, and . . . here are the November Economic Indicators. I also have some FBI reports."

Now, if we read between the lines, the President is telling us a good deal. Seen in the context of the Franco-American split, Johnson's seemingly offhand comments indicate that de Gaulle's agricultural policies have cut deeply into Cap-Am food supplies, and has forced the administration to embargo meat supplies to already disaffected consumers. To remedy the acute shortage, the President has ordered that birth-control methods be all but abandoned. Such a policy is pleasing to the Pope (who now has 40 divisions, according to reports monitored in Albania) but opposed by the Indians, who would like to slaughter their sacred cows, but dare not, for fear of hindering their campaign of naked aggression in the Himalayas. The Asian bank meeting was meant to negotiate an end to that difference, but it has failed in its purpose, and the President has summoned his "Mr. Black," *i.e.*, the head of the Black Guards, to the US of A for an accounting. No doubt he will be confined behind the hated Wall in the Street of the Wall in New York, for punishment. The remark about the FBI reports must now be too clear to you to need further explanation.

In sum, we see the *pattern* and divine the *paradox*. As the good gray Garner always said, the US of A is true to its history; it will swallow every new phenomenon, absorb every upheaval. The problem remains for us to adjust our own policy to these troubling events, so far across the sea. The debate on the question of inviting Washington to the Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFOS) still is unresolved. On the one hand, the Albanians lean towards a "two Americas policy." Our "America Lobby," made up of old UCLA Ping-Pong players, sticks to its shopworn and ostrich-like position of ignoring the Cap-Ams, although they control a vast continent with limitless resources and 200 million inhabitants, as industrious and single-minded as ants. For myself, I suggest that if the US of A is indeed undergoing a "nervous breakdown," we can only remain alert, prepare to defend ourselves, and hope for the best.

PRESTON DUK

PROFESSOR DUK, *an americologist on the faculty of the University of Shanghai, was born in Pittsburgh, Pa., of a Confucian missionary father and a native (caucasoid) mother. He is the author of* US of A: Slumbering Giant. *This article is excerpted from his keynote speech to the XXIII Congress of the Chinese Pig Iron Institute.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STANLEY KAUFFMANN *Up From Cleverness*

Part of the function of every issue of a good magazine is to "date." A healthy magazine reflects contemporary currents so acutely that it must leave much of its past behind; and if the magazine is an effective force in any field, by helping those currents to change, it insures that its past is passé.

The Smart Set, which was published from 1900 to 1930, left several pasts behind before it died. This folio anthology*, in double-column pages, has almost 100 pages of the magazine's history and only a little over 150 pages of selections. The disproportion is justified.

A lengthy *Smart Set* anthology was published 32 years ago, but the historian and editor of this new volume, Carl R. Dolmetsch, says: "By any defensible criteria there still remains, despite all the picking, choosing, and previous reprintings, enough good material in *The Smart Set* for several more readable anthologies." His criteria seem indefensible; not much of the present anthology is really readable. There are two items of value: James Joyce's story "A Little Cloud," and Eugene O'Neill's one-act play *Ile*, for neither of which an anthology was needed. The best of the rest are only curiosities: a Scott Fitzgerald one-act play that became the first chapter of *This Side of Paradise*, Mark Van Doren's first published poem, a Robinson Jeffers story, a fancy Damon Runyon ballad with a refrain about "the pound of the breakers and the roar of the open sea," and an article about Negro problems (in 1917) by H. L. Mencken written with a characteristic combination of affectation, silliness and insight.

But the history is interesting. Dolmetsch is a teeth-gratingly coy writer:

> "No blazing comets signalled [the founding of the magazine]. Apparently the heavens are quite impervious to such mundane affairs, however auspicious the occasion for literary history. . . ."

Nevertheless illumination filters through his spun-sugar prose.

The founder, a consciously colorful figure named William D'Alton Mann, decided that *fin-de-siècle* America had enough magazines devoted to uplift, education, even to fashion; he dedicated his new magazine, as its cover said, to "Cleverness." It was a clever choice. The recently emerged aristocracy of money was desperate to be aristocratically smart, and the emerging middle class was ambitious to emulate them in everything from wealth to wisecracks

The magazine's fortunes fluctuated, for a complex of reasons, internal and external. Owners and editors changed, and by 1913 the social climate had also changed. The parvenu aristocrats and burghers were no longer content to mimic the high society of Europe in panache and persiflage; they now wanted culture. They had learned which fork to use; they were now more interested in which painter to buy. As for intellectual leaders of the time, though they were certainly aware of undeniable American artistic and intellectual achievements, they were also aware of American crudities and a growing American appetite to cure them.

In 1913 the new owner of *The Smart Set* appointed a new editor, the brilliant young eccentric Willard Huntington Wright, a composer, painter, and poet (who, years later, after a bout of drug addiction, also became the mystery writer S. S. Van Dine). Wright lasted only a year in the job, but in that year he engaged Ezra Pound as European scout and got contributions from, among others, Beerbohm, Schnitzler, D'Annunzio, Yeats, Conrad, and Strindberg. (Of all these, only a short poem by Pound is in the present book.) But Wright was advancing too quickly for his publisher, who not only got rid of him but of the magazine. The new owner then brought in George Jean Nathan, who in turn brought in H. L. Mencken as co-editor. Both of them had been writing for the magazine since 1908, and their co-editorial reign, from 1914 to 1924 (when they left for the new *American Mercury*) is what is today remembered about *The Smart Set*.

The social change in one generation can be epitomized by comparing the magazine's then appropriate motto of "Cleverness" in 1900 with the Nathan-Mencken credo published in 1921:

> "(1) To discover new American authors as they emerge, and to give them their first chance to reach an intelligent and sophisticated audience; (2) To present the point of view of the civilized minority; (3) To introduce the best foreign authors to America; (4) To leaven the national literature with wit and humor; (5) To encourage sound poetry."

Certainly Nathan and Mencken followed this credo to the best of their abilities (though it would be hard to prove it by Dolmetsch's anthology). They were adventurous and perceptive editors, and the list of their important discoveries is long.

But their own critical writings, which they continued in the magazine under their own and pen names, plus the aura of their personalities and pronouncements, have a different flavor. Underlying their bravery and bravura is self-satisfaction, a reliance on society's staying as it is so that they will always remain advanced. They were both heavily charged with worship of *Kultur*. The German word is appropriate to their Teutonic bias and their vision of culture as something that sets one above the herd – with the added factor that one wants the herd to know it. In his biography of Sinclair Lewis, who contributed to *The Smart Set*, Mark Schorer says that certain ambiguities in Lewis were also present in Mencken, including "the antibourgeois fulminations coming from a deepest self that was profoundly bourgeois." I think this is equally true of Nathan.

Political history dealt unkindly with Mencken, the acid critic of politics. The social reforms of Franklin Roosevelt disenfranchised him as a political

(*Continued on page 37*)

* *The Smart Set*, A History and Anthology, by Carl R. Dolmetsch (Dial; $17.50)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After Trujillo

by Sam Halper

"You know who put Trujillo in power?", Antonio Imbert, Trujillo's assassin, asked his wife at luncheon one day in Santo Domingo. "The priests and the Americans." For 821 pages, John Bartlow Martin, a topflight magazine writer who had the additional advantage of being on the scene as US

Overtaken By Events
by John Bartlow Martin
(Doubleday; $7.95)

Ambassador to the Dominican Republic from March 1962 to September 1963, tells how Washington tried to undo that monstrous wrong by bringing the Dominican Republic out from under the rock that crushed it for 31 years. So far the effort has not been a success. But if this report of what has happened since 10:15 p.m. May 31, 1961, when Trujillo was gunned down near his cheesy, bankrupt World's Fair, has no other virtue – and it has – it should dispose of the simple-minded notion that the US planned a rightist solution in the Dominican Republic. The fact is that US policy oscillated between a hope – of democratizing the DR – and a fear that the democratizing process would open the door to a Castro/Communist takeover.

Immediately following Trujillo's liquidation and the miscarrying of plans for a democratic interregnum, the US did turn rightward, collaborating with a government headed by the late dictator's psychotic son, Ramfis, whose front man was Joaquin Balaguer, Trujillo's last puppet president. This ad hoc arrangement worked smoothly enough so that some US diplomats, entranced by the apparent stability and fearful of the rising left, began to like it. In September 1961 the US chargé – a model of diplomatic cool and ideological sterility – extolled Ramfis, telling this reporter: "If Ramfis' name were Hernandez, he'd be a total asset."

But within six months that policy and that chargé were replaced by Ambassador John Bartlow Martin, liberal, civil libertarian, speech writer for Adlai Stevenson and John F. Kennedy, who appointed him. Thereafter, until September 1963, Ambassador Martin worked day and much of the night trying to turn the DR into another outpost of the democratic left in Latin America, alongside those of Muñoz Marin's Puerto Rico, Romulo Betancourt's Venezuela and "Pepe" Figueres' Costa Rica.

In action – probing, ulcerous, chain-smoking, earnestly talking to all sides – Martin was an unforgettable sight. He sized up people brilliantly, politics somewhat less well and economics hardly at all, but on the people to people level he was simply great – a diplomatic doctor with a marvelous bedside manner: always concerned (even to the detriment of his own health), always available for consultation, always trying. He worked with and respected the pro-oligarchic but anti-Trujillista Union Civica Nacional (UCN). He kept an open mind on the fuzzily pro-Castro June 14 movement, trying, with poor success and over the objections of many in his embassy, to find a common ground with its suspicious leader, woolly-minded, anti-American Manuel Tavarez Justo. Patiently he suffered the neuroses of Juan Bosch, the democratic leftist leader who looked like Muñoz, Figueres and Betancourt but who turned out only to talk like them. A born loser, Bosch was constantly "digging himself into a hole, then forcing everybody to pull him out." When Bosch finally went down before a military coup in September 1963 and sat helpless in the National Palace surrounded by tough, uniformed men, unable to act and not needing to act – it was apparently such a relief that Martin found him for the first time "smiling broadly as though he were enjoying it."

That was the end. After that Martin packed, went home and watched US policy disintegrate as the State Department talked itself into recognizing the results of the coup. But before that there were 18 breathless months as with one hand Martin staved off the swarms of tommy gun-swinging soldiers and cops who infested the National Palace and with the other helped knit the fabric of a democratic society. First, there was the seven-man Council of State, that improbable hydra-headed government that so brilliantly replaced the Ramfis-Balaguer makeshift, then the democratic election of Juan Bosch's successor government, and finally the last seven months trying to prop up Bosch and undercut the would-be military putschists. And when he finished parleying with the Dominicans, Martin's flat, old-fashioned portable would furiously whack out dispatches to Washington, begging and pleading with State for a little money here, a little understanding there, a little backbone, a little patience. Martin was not a model diplomat; perhaps he was too involved, but if the US effort was not entirely successful it was certainly not for lack of commitment or trying. The circumstances of Martin's friendship with President Kennedy, himself an innovator, made possible an extraordinary, undiplomatic embassy, possibly the frankest and most passionate the US ever fielded. It also made possible this hour by hour account of the Dominican crisis – certainly the frankest, fullest diplomatic reminiscence in memory.

At one point in the book you see Martin arguing with Assassin Imbert, whose yearning for homage and power since he emerged from hiding has made him a massive factor for instability in the DR power struggle. Imbert is sulking, he may be preparing a coup and Martin confronts him at a Foreign Office reception; right there they battle loudly for two hours. Imbert threatens to quit the Council of State of which he is the member in charge of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the police, go home and be a simple citizen. Martin speaks: "Bullshit. You can't be a 'simple citizen,' not ever and you know it." Imbert says: "Si, Señor." "No, Señor," replies Martin. "You have tried to collect too damn much power. So everyone is afraid that you want to be another Trujillo, another dictator." Imbert replies, "But I don't." Martin: "I know you don't. But everyone else thinks you do. It is an axiom of politics that power gained is power used. Let me tell you something else. You can't get away with it. It is too late in history."

Though Martin stressed the US hope of democratizing the DR, in the end the fear of Castro/Communism won out and Bosch was toppled because he was considered too left. What went wrong? Bosch did, but something more important did, too. According to *The New Leader* of May 19, 1965, a Pentagon envoy went to the DR in the last days of Bosch's regime and gave the fatal wink and nod that unleashed the military against Bosch. *The New Leader* cites this as fact; Martin's book sidesteps the allegation. However, Martin clearly infers that during the last months of his tenure, he was worried that the Pentagon's MAAG mission might do what *The New Leader* said it did. He recalls warning the chief of MAAG in the DR that if the time ever came when the MAAG man could no longer publicly espouse Martin's pro-Bosch line "he must tell me at once. Any slightest sign of hesitancy on his part would bring Bosch down." This fear – that MAAG would indicate its disenchantment with Bosch – occurs often in the book. Martin reports that at another point even White House Aide Ralph Dungan asked: "Were we sure our own MAAG and attachés were not criticizing Bosch?" Finally, he points out that at the very moment the DR military moved on Bosch, veteran MAAG chief Bev Cass was back in Washington. Martin goes on to say: "If the Pentagon had not picked that time to call Bev Cass home we might somehow have held it" (Bosch in power). Why did the Pentagon rotate Cass home at a time when it well knew Bosch was in hourly danger from the military? Martin does not answer this question or the larger one of whether the Pentagon double-crossed him and touched off Bosch's ouster. For that matter, Martin also evades the question of US involvement in another Dominican downfall, the killing of Trujillo, saying, "So far as I know this is not true." (Trujillo's death preceded Martin's tenure as Ambassador by nine months.) Skilled writer that he is, Martin obviously wrote the first five words of that sentence with great care; let readers ponder them.

These evasions and others go to the heart of what is wrong with this otherwise great report. In the larger matters, where it deals with principles rather than persons, it is evasive. Martin refuses to face the implications of what went on and what he did. He insists on saying "I reject the idea that our deeds constituted intervention. We did it because we believed we were promoting the freedom of the Dominican people. We did it because we believed that freedom served our own interests. We had no wish to run the republic. We wanted to create the conditions in which no one else could run it – only the Dominican people."

But the Ambassador's book has page after page of instances of US intervention. There were times when the Dominican people cheered intervention, and even times when they explicitly asked for it, getting angry when the embassy turned them down. Indeed, there is something to be said for helping to kill Trujillo, for sending aircraft carriers to scare off the Trujillo family from returning to power, for thwarting Gen. Rodriguez Echavarria's attempt to subvert the Council of State, for forcibly deporting rightwing *golpista* Col. Wessin y Wessin, and so on.

In action Martin was clearly an eclectic, throwing away the State Department rulebook whenever it interfered. (At one point, to prop up Bosch he even faked a wire from the Department to himself, and carried it in his pocket for an occasion to show it to the DR military, to "prove" to them that the US was behind Bosch all the way and dead set against a coup.) However, when dealing with policy rather than practice, in suggesting a future course for the US in Latin America, Martin refuses to draw the lessons taught by his own experience and his own account. His preference for moralizing instead, disturbs and disorients his book and the result is a somewhat schizoid volume: precise and brilliant in its reporting, shadowy and mealy-mouthed in its philosophizing.

Thus, on wider questions of future policy in Latin America, Martin's insistence on stilted Boy Scout diplomatics – entirely unlike eclectic Martin in action – leads to confusion. Talking of the Organization of American States, an agency too often distinguished by its lack of relevance, he says rightly: "We must work to strengthen the OAS. The OAS has seldom faced up to its responsibilities." Then he adds with overpowering naïveté: "And in all candor we have sometimes tried to manipulate it for our own purposes." His conclusion – remedial steps the OAS should take – is so weak that even as he offers solutions he haltingly disowns them. Watch closely: "The OAS has never taken concrete steps to set up machinery to deal with emergencies. At Rio in November 1965 the OAS did not discuss a permanent multilateral military force to deal with emergencies. And I must say I have misgivings about such a force – it might accelerate the resurgence of the Latin military. Perhaps the OAS's best gateway to political interdependence is not through the military, but through economics. The Central American Common Market seems to be working well. So might other regional economic groupings though some have already failed, and the difficulties are enormous. In any case the OAS can succeed only if it tries." Later on, he once more starts to make a good point only to trail off: "To seek stability means, in most of Latin America, to align ourselves with the military and the oligarchy. We could gain stability that way, for a time. But in the end, the 'stable' repressive establishment will go down. And we would go down with it. Such a policy opposes history – seeks nonchange in a time of revolutionary change . . . strikes at the heart of the Alliance for Progress . . . re-

EUROPE

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.

EUROPE SUMMER TOURS

255 Sequoia, Dept. N—Pasadena, California

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

verses the Kennedy policy of working to strengthen political democracy in Latin America."

Has the Ambassador thought through what he says? In his troubled relations with the State Department, his concern lest his MAAG group undercut his democratizing mission, again and again he ran up against the basic ambivalence in the US view of Latin America, *i.e.*, the hope for a democratic revolution, the fear that such a revolution would assist a Castro/Communist takeover. The fact is that the US believes in both policies, both in revolution *and* in counterrevolution.

Martin evades this ambivalence, and in so doing his book fails in a major task – to force a confrontation or at least an accommodation between the two policies. Toward the end of the volume, Martin backs gingerly into the ambivalence. He makes a plea for a policy of democratizing Latin America, but does so on placatory, self-abasing grounds. He says: "Some people think that supporting the revolutionary Alliance [for Progress] is soft-hearted liberalism. It is rather a highly practical matter. We have no alternative, really, but to try to surpass the Marxists."

Does Martin think that a US program for democratizing Latin America can be snuck through? In the Sierra Maestra in 1958, Castro told this reporter, "If I were Batista I would say to my soldiers: 'I will give you $1 million but surely, surely whenever you go among the peasants don't take a man's pig or meat or house without leaving some money on the table; you should always be the friend of the countryman'." Then Fidel laughed and said: "I shouldn't give Batista that advice, but I know he is unable to take it." Maybe Castro is smarter than Martin. Maybe he knew there was no chance the conservatives would listen. Let Martin keep trying, by all means. But let him tick off the hard realities, so that they may be dealt with as best they can.

Woven through this extraordinarily long, extraordinarily exciting book there is another great story – that of Antonio Imbert, a man Martin loved and distrusted. Self-seeking, deprecating yet loving his people, Imbert is the sole survivor of the triggermen who had the courage to fire the bullets that took the Trujillo beast off the Dominicans' back. (Amiama was in the plot, not the shooting.) At times defying each other, at times working together closely, Imbert and Martin struggled through the months of the reborn republic. They kept each other at bay until the intervention of April 1965, when Martin (who was back in the DR as special envoy) sought out his enemy/friend Imbert and made him head of government, only to repudiate him weeks later when the US (oscillating again) required a more democratically-appealing figure. Unless killed, Imbert will spin back to the center of events in the DR in a few years, perhaps as a strongman but not as a Trujillo. He continues to be the commanding figure in the country.

And now finally to the last matter – because it is least important – the journalistically hot question of whether or not the US armed intervention of April 1965 was justified. Martin makes out a good case for intervention. In

BROOKINGS BOOKS

Technology, Economic Growth, and Public Policy

RICHARD R. NELSON, MERTON J. PECK, AND EDWARD D. KALACHEK. This study, sponsored jointly with the RAND Corporation, analyzes the way technical advance occurs, the impact of new technology on the economy, and the changes in government policy needed to stimulate and channel technical advance. 238 pp. ☐ 1966 ☐ $6.00

Economic Policies Toward Less Developed Countries

HARRY G. JOHNSON. At the 1964 U.N. Conference on Trade and Development the U.S. found itself virtually isolated by the West in defending the existing principles governing international trade. This study provides the necessary political, economic, and institutional background to evaluate proposals set forth by the less developed countries and the policy alternatives before the United States. 350 pp. ☐ 1966 ☐ $6.75

Federal Tax Policy

JOSEPH A. PECHMAN. ". . . one of the most important works on taxation that has come out so far this decade," *Business Week.* ". . . encyclopedic in coverage and stimulating in its analysis," Mortimer A. Caplin, *Challenge.* 321 pp. ☐ 1966 ☐ Cloth $5,00, Paper $2.45

Economic Behavior of the Affluent

ROBIN BARLOW, HARVEY E. BRAZER, AND JAMES N. MORGAN. An analysis of saving, investment, and other economic decisions by high-income individuals. Based on interviews by a team from the Survey Research Center. 285 pp. ☐ 1966 ☐ Cloth $6.75, Paper $2.50

The Making of United States Foreign Policy

BURTON M. SAPIN. An up-to-date analysis of the complex machinery of United States foreign policy, with primary attention to the procedures by which materials are gathered and assessed and by which decisions are reached. 415 pp. ☐ 1966 ☐ $7.50

The National Election of 1964

MILTON C. CUMMINGS, JR., Editor. The latest of the Brookings studies on the electoral process, analyzes the vast complex of factors and interests affecting public opinion and public decisions during the 1964 elections. 295 pp. ☐ 1966 ☐ $5.00

Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in the United States

GEORGE F. BREAK. This study presents the complex problems of current financing of public education, health, transportation, etc. and suggests alternative solutions. 273 pp. ☐ 1966 ☐ Cloth, $6.75, Paper $2.50

at your bookstore or direct from

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

any case the controversy seems pointless. Once it is agreed that a Castro/Communist takeover had to be avoided, so long as there was a reasonable chance that the reds would capture the Constitutionalist-Bosch *golpe* – and with Bosch's weak, absentee leadership there certainly was – then US intervention was justified. This doesn't mean the intervention was desirable, honestly executed or politically esthetic. Far more important, however, is why it happened. The great error of April 1965 was not the intervention but the inaction of the previous 18 months that made it necessary. The intervention was like a sharp blow delivered by a parent who discovers he has let a situation get out of hand. Like a declaration of war, intervention is almost always a confession of failure.

Following the counterrevolution that ousted Bosch in September 1963, the US failed to take the preventive steps that could have headed off the counter-counterrevolution of April 1965. Tapley Bennett, Martin's successor as ambassador did not, says Martin, keep track of what the left was thinking and what the military-right was planning. In fact, when the April 1965 coup struck, Bennett was home in Georgia and most of his military attachés were conferring in Panama. Bennett was a diplomat's diplomat; he had lots of cool and detachment and he never got involved as Martin did, and he did not do nearly so well.

Churchill To His Son

by Philip Toynbee

The easiest, and no doubt the most proper, thing to write about is the book itself. But I foresee that like every other reviewer I shall soon be writing, instead, about the subject of the book, and airing my own views on that remarkable man. Before I give in to this temptation – a word or two at least about the nature of Randolph Churchill's achievement. He is an extremely professional writer, a journalist of forty years standing and one who has always operated at least in the anterooms of power. He understands his medium, and he knows a great deal not only about his subject in the narrower sense but also about the whole ambiance of British Conservative politics. What is more he is armed with a love for his father which is something far stronger and richer than conventional piety. The spirit of Randolph Churchill's enterprise is admirably displayed by the epitaphial inscription to his first volume:

"How an under-estimated boy
of genius
of noble character and daring spirit
seized and created a
hundred opportunities
to rise in the world
and add glory
by his own merit and audacity
to a name already famous."

It is this spirit which informs the whole work, giving it life and zest but also, of course, limiting its capacity to criticize its monumental subject. "He was," Randolph allows at one point, "by this time, markedly egocentric and self-expressive." This is the furthest the son ever goes in reproof, and if it was ever meant as reproof it soon turns into a new kind of accolade. What we have here is not so much a careful brief for the defense as one of those heroic monuments, in the 18th-century manner, which displays some great prince or general mounted on a rampant charger with tricorne waved aloft and the whole splendid centaur cast in bronze.

This is a self-effacing book. The style is Modified Churchillian – "He was free to leave the nest and soar through many hazards to the empyrean" – but usually more modified than that. More than half the text consists of letters – an honorable and useful way of compiling a biography but one which does have the effect of destroying any clear and flowing narrative line. A principal difficulty which confronted this biographer was that the ground – and particularly this early ground – had already been zealously covered by the father himself. Randolph often refers us to one of Winston's many autobiographies rather than tell a familiar tale again in slightly different words.

The schoolboy pugnacity of the family is fairly well restrained, and there are not many passages like this one: "There has of course always been a noisy pacifist or nationalist element in Britain who are ready to traduce their fellow countrymen who are helping to fight their country's battles . . . nor in their passionate hatred of their own country do they mind what lies they tell." (What could the word "nationalist" mean in such a context?)

In spite of these drawbacks this is a fine book, skillfully composed, and one which vividly reflects a young man operating in the half-vanished world of the English public schools in their heyday, smart cavalry regiments and the raffish high society of the nineties. We are relieved from the strain of this arrogant and vulgar background by Churchill's independent adventures as a subaltern in India and Egypt, as a journalist in Cuba and the Boer War, and finally as a young parliamentary candidate who is finally elected as the volume ends. Though Churchill earned a reputation for bumptiousness and brash ambition there isn't the least doubt that he was much more amiable and engaging than the great majority of his relations and their friends.

But I am not so sure about that "noble character" which the son claims for his father. It is true that Churchill vehemently reproved his parents when that horrid pair were trying to sack an old and loyal retainer without giving her a pension. It is true that he reacted with courage and magnanimity to the abominable neglect which he

Winston S. Churchill
Youth: 1874-1900
by Randolph S. Churchill
(Houghton Mifflin; $10)

BOOK HUNTING?
ANY BOOK LOCATED! No matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! Write to—Dept. NEW
BOOKS-ON-FILE
Union City, New Jersey 07087

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suffered at the hands of both his parents. "It is said," wrote Churchill in his *Life of Marlborough*, "that famous men are usually the product of an unhappy childhood. The stern compression of circumstances, the twinges of adversity, the spur of slights and taunts in early years, are needed to evoke that ruthless fixity of purpose and tenacious mother-wit without which great actions are seldom accomplished." This is a refreshing attitude after all the whining lamentations about unhappy childhoods which we have had to listen to since then. But that ruthless fixity of purpose does not fit comfortably into double harness with a real nobility of character.

The question which we all have to face in Britain – Churchill does after all *confront* us in the most unavoidable way – is whether he was a great man or not; and the further question of what it means to be a great man.

It is notorious that if he had died in 1939 Churchill would have been remembered as one of the most conspicuous failures in modern English politics. It is becoming notorious that throughout his life he was far more often wrong than right on major issues. It is beginning to be strongly suspected that even during the second war, in the years of his apotheosis, his policies – as opposed to his personality – did more to hinder the war effort than help it.

I am tempted to say that in this field – the field of public affairs – a man is "great" if enough people believe that he is great. In one sense Churchill was great by definition: only a great man *could* have been given such a funeral. The funeral, and all the earlier renown, were the cause and not the effect of his "greatness." I'm sure there is a good deal of truth in this. Certainly Churchill was not great in the sense that he ever had an original idea. He was not great as Lincoln was great – by unimpeachable nobility of character and by a statesman's farsightedness.

But whenever I begin to strip that gigantic public image of some of its laurels – whenever I am tempted to push Churchill off that great bronze horse of his – I invariably remember the particular speech which he made on the wireless at the worst moment of the war, just after the defeat of France in the summer of 1940. I and all the other new recruits in my barracks who paid the least attention to public events were in a state of deep depression: our morale was low indeed. And what we had feared was that we would be given another of those blood-and-thunder speeches, crop-full of fustian rhetoric and purple phrases. What we received was a measured assessment of our war capacity; quiet words; deep resolution combined with reasoned common sense. As far as I'm concerned Churchill was great because he perfectly matched and met that particular moment of horror and near-despair. For that alone – and it wasn't, of course, a solitary occasion – I feel that he deserved all the oblations that he received.

A Life with the Berensons

by Francis Biddle

Introductions can be tiresome – particularly introductions to reminiscence. But Sir Kenneth Clark's introduction to Nicky Mariano's ample recreation of her life with Bernard and Mary Berenson catches the essence of those forty years and her relation to "B.B." at that "curious microcosm of civilization that grew up around him at *I Tatti*." Miss Mariano tries to describe every important or eccentric figure in their rich and active world, and that effort at times interferes with the central concerns: Nicky herself, B.B. and Mary, and finally lesser figures like Edith Wharton. Miss Mariano's language is fresh and original, and one has the sense of her continually enlarging a life to which there were few spiritual or intellectual limits.

Forty Years with Berenson
by Nicky Mariano
(Knopf; $5.95)

Arriving at *I Tatti* a striking and vigorous young woman, conscious of her lack of training, she was soon put in charge of the library, and in a few years had become, as Sir Kenneth puts it, B.B.'s "companion and guardian, organizing his work, saving his energies, reassuring his friends, mollifying his enemies and shielding him, so far as possible, from the rough usages of ordinary life." Gradually she took Mary's place, and for this long stretch of life it was a wonderfully successful *ménage à trois*, with Nicky holding the other two together, taking life as it came, in love with B.B. and devoted to Mary. "Somehow Mary's light faded as B.B. appeared on the scene." Think of it – forty years, and during most of them Mary was the younger woman's close friend.

It was in 1921, in the early years of this strange adventure, when the three of them were on a trip to Orvieto, that Nicky for the first time felt no self-consciousness. Weather, temperature, light were all perfect, B.B. carefree, as they skirted the lake of Balsena through oakwoods all golden with yellow broom. She was in seventh heaven, not yet fully aware how much her responsiveness to everything was due to B.B.'s presence.

Mary and her husband were as "different as the art of a jeweler from that of a stonecutter." He was slender and lithe, small, carefully dressed; she taller, with an awkward gait, moving

See For Yourself

COMMENTARY, Dept. NR 36
165 East 56th St., N. Y., N. Y. 10022
Please enter my subscription:
☐ 7 months—$4.79
☐ 12 months—$8.00
☐ Please send bill ☐ Payment enclosed
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Outside U.S.A.—add $1.00 per subscription.
Please use separate sheet for gift subscriptions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

heavily, with noble features and thin lips, tending to be slovenly, disliking elegance. She was a majestic force of nature, once beautiful. B.B. would liken her to a dreadnought to which one had to hang on or be drowned. They could not live long in the same house and got along better traveling, seeing things, treating life as a series of adventures. Mary was bracing as mountain air when in a good temper, depressing as a sirocco when out of sorts, and had a contempt for cultivated people.

Miss Mariano's vignettes are striking and sometimes refreshingly inelegant: Robert Trevelyan, "Trevy," George Trevelyan's older brother, an intimate at *I Tatti*, was "tall, lean, uncouth, with dishevelled grey hair, a long inquisitive nose, corduroy trousers, heavy boots, with poor table manners." Meeting him with a knapsack of books on his back, two of his friends had stopped their car and asked him to lunch: "Whom have you got staying with you?" "Nobody at present." "Then I had rather come another time" – the English at their candid best. Trevy had married a highly cultivated but rather heavy Dutch woman, because she shared his ardently pro-Boer feelings during the South African War.

There was a visit from a curious English trio – Vanessa Bell, almost invariably wrapped in sulky silence; Maynard Keynes, aloof and oracular; Duncan Grant, unconcerned and pleasant. Belle Green, who was in charge of the Morgan Library, is characterized as a woman of great vitality and plenty of intelligence, a provocatively exotic physical type, but somehow unharmonious, almost crude, in speech and manner. She had, Mary told Nicky, played a "dangerous" part in Berenson's life.

In describing her sister (married to Bertrand Russell) Mary Berenson writes Nicky: "At bottom we are at war, for she is and remains an *ist* of every kind, feminist, prohibitionist, philanthropist, pacifist, and she despises me for being a pagan." That is exactly what Nicky was too – responsive to the needs and delights of the senses; knowing the importance of good food and getting it; conscious of the sharpness and strength of nature, admitting the coarse rough play of small adventure on their trips together, allowing indecencies, if they said something, to play their part.

A few years after she had joined the Berensons, Nicky and B.B. went to New York on one of their rare trips to the United States. The experience was lurid. At one millionaire dinner party "the table literally groaned under orchids, caviar, turtle soup and golden plate – twenty-two gross old people sat around it guzzling champagne and all sorts of wine (in spite of prohibition), the women all over 50, all fat, and all except myself nearly naked and hung with ropes of pearls and diamonds. After dinner opera singers came in and yelled horrible music. We came away early (at midnight!) and B.B. actually said he was glad I did not look like other women." Certainly reassuring.

One chapter is devoted to Edith Wharton. When they met in 1923, Nicky, young, shy, uncertain, took a dislike to the older woman, conventionally dressed, jerky in her movements, somehow ill at ease and with an ugly mouth shaped like a savings-box. But the eyes were fine, the voice agreeable. Mrs. Wharton was constantly at *I Tatti*, and later she and Nicky became friends. The Berensons and Nicky went to stay with Mrs. Wharton at Hyères, where a terraced garden, too beauti-

WINNER OF
THE 1966 CHRISTIAN GAUSS AWARD
OF PHI BETA KAPPA

The Cave and the Mountain

A STUDY OF E. M. FORSTER

Wilfred Stone

"This book is the most important to appear on E. M. Forster since Lionel Trilling acclaimed him as a major novelist twenty years ago." —NOEL ANNAN

"Mr. Stone's thoughtful and knowledgeable study assesses the man and his work with sympathetic understanding and keen objective analysis.... A very good book, the best study of Forster that has yet appeared."—DAVID DAICHES, *Daily Telegraph* (London)

"The most searching, detailed, sensitive, and refreshing [study of Forster]. Because it contains a considerable amount of original research and carries the mark of genuine scholarship, the study commands an unusual degree of attention and respect.... An admirable book."—*Saturday Review*

"An encyclopedia of Forsteriana, and future students of Forster will lean heavily on it."—*The Times Literary Supplement*

"Comprehensive in treatment and rich in insights. One of its valuable features is a series of photographs, not only of Forster himself at different ages, but of settings for his novels and stories; these pictures definitely shed light.... A first-rate study."—HARRY T. MOORE, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

$8.95

At your bookstore

Stanford University Press

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fully kept, corresponded with the exquisitely appointed rooms, but not with the splendid view of the sea. What a hostess she was. Of the four guests three had separate regimes, and each got his, while Mrs. Wharton watched lovingly what they ate and offered more appetizing alternatives. It was the kind of service that fascinated Nicky.

Edith's friendships were possessive and jealous, and her relations were complicated and sometimes dramatic. She suffered from not being treated as an equal by French titled society. The Christmas party at Hyères included Gaillard Lapsley, the thoroughly anglicized American don at Trinity College, Cambridge, a great stickler for ritual and traditional good behavior, which Nicky disliked though it sometimes amused her. A near neighbor was the Viscount Charles de Noailles and his wife Marie-Laure. Mrs. Wharton was fond of Charles (they shared a passionate interest in gardens and gardening), but she could not stand his wife's friends, *avant-garde* artists and writers. B.B. grew to like Marie-Laure, and persuaded her to invite Edith and her guests to lunch, and took the invitation to Edith, who received it graciously, but the next morning, evidently persuaded by Gaillard Lapsley, declared that an invitation sent by "word of mouth" was an insult – it should have been in writing.

Edith lived in two worlds, Nicky thought, the inside world where there was no fear of intrusion, and the outside world of which she was constantly afraid and in which she became encased in shyness. In her inside life she was simple, ready to tease her friends and be teased by them. She would not let herself grow old comfortably; she rushed about, grew tired, became peevish and fussy.

During the Second World War Nicky and B.B. left *I Tatti* (Mary stayed on, grim and fearless). The two of them lived in a house Nicky had bought on the heights of Vallombrossa, or sometimes elsewhere, but always in Italy. Once when they were living in the villa of a friend, a young refugee couple arrived, suffering bitterly from the cold, with a seven-months-old baby in a sack on the father's back. "The baby," Nicky comments, "is not beautiful, with ears standing off its little completely bald head like the handles of a pot, but is well-behaved and merry and intelligent looking."

Nicky returns constantly to her relationship to B.B. He would not have paid much attention to her, she remarks candidly, if she had remained a casual visitor; it was all due to her getting interested in his work, and gradually becoming indispensable to him, not through any particular ability but through her eagerness to please him and to serve him. When they worked separately the work went well. B.B. would compare himself and Nicky to a nomad and his camel. "She carries me through the worst deserts and allows me to enjoy the enchanting mirages on their horizons." When B.B. wanted something he gave a kind of howl in his room and stamped his feet, and Nicky heard it, and went up to see what kind of tangle he had got into. It was good to have work that interested one during the war, because the general outlook for most of it got steadily worse. But Berenson never doubted the ultimate Allied victory. He suffered from his diminished power to work and to concentrate, but had much to be grateful for, "keeping his body so light and nimble (he was then seventy-two) and his capacity to walk and his immensely varied interests."

Mary became more eccentric and violent as time went on. She grew tired of listening to her husband; she disliked the female adulation that seemed to surround him and from which he seldom tried to escape. When Nicky and B.B. were away, happy to be alone together, Nicky wrote Mary every few days. Their correspondence fills a large part of the book and admirably reveals both women. In spite of her impatience, her lack of consideration for the feelings of others, her prejudices, Mary was warm and generous. When she was dying and had lost the use of hand and eye, she wrote Nicky: "There is no cloud in the thought of you as there is in almost everything else. The end of life, if you remain conscious, is a sort of purgatory in which all your sins and mistakes come crowding upon you, but between you and me there is nothing of the kind – all is perfectly serene, and I think of you with the deepest love."

She adds that if she died in time, she hoped Nicky would marry B.B. She

Current NR-15

905 Madison Avenue, New York 10021

Here's my $2.00 for your six-month special introductory offer.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip ____

If your wide ranging interests outrun your reading time, Current is the magazine for you.

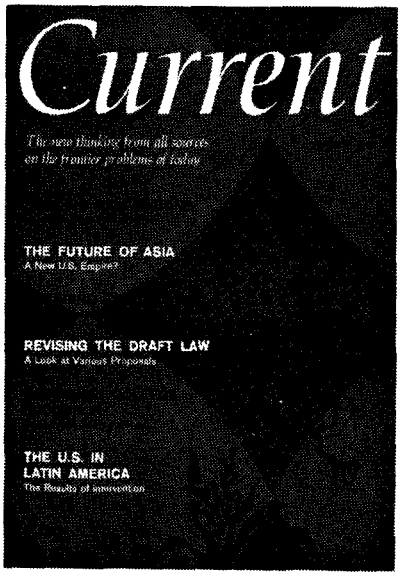
Each month Current gives you the essence of news and ideas extracted from more than 600 major newspapers, magazines, books, professional journals—even radio and television scripts. Current gives order, shape and form to this overwhelming mass of communication, offering the best thinking on major issues in a format that provides a balanced view.

The scope of Current is the scope of involved people everywhere. From Foreign Policy to Farm Policy, Education to Economic Aid, Science to Segregation, Current is the one publication that can give you perspective on every vital issue.

"Unique coverage of contemporary ideas and issues," says John W. Gardner, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. "Indispensable to a busy man," says Paul G. Hoffman, Managing Director, United Nations Special Fund.

Because we're sure you'll agree, we make this special half price offer: Try Current for 6 months for only $2.00. Simply fill in the coupon above, mail it with two dollars or a check. See how easy it is to keep current.

If you can't read everything


Current
The new thinking from all sources on the frontier problems of today
THE FUTURE OF ASIA
A New U.S. Empire?
REVISING THE DRAFT LAW
A Look at Various Proposals
THE U.S. IN LATIN AMERICA
The Results of Intervention

read Current

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was almost glad that B.B. should not see her in her pain and weakness. She liked to think that in spite of all their failings and so-called infidelities they had always stuck together and stuck to Italy. Nicky answers promptly and directly – she doesn't think she and B.B. would get married "if you should die. Surely everybody would find my living near him and for him perfectly natural." So why should she change? It was as simple as that.

MOVIES

The Living Library

There are some rather dumb – but in a way brilliant – gimmicks that have a strong, and it would almost seem a perennial, public appeal. Books or plays or movies based on them don't even have to be especially well done to be popular: readers and audiences respond to the gimmick. Sometimes this kind of trick idea is so primitive that it's particularly attractive to educated people – perhaps because they're puzzled by why they're drawn to it and so take it to be a much more complex idea than it is. *Frankenstein* is one of these fantastic, lucrative "ideas"; *The Pawnbroker* is almost one. A classic example of the use of one of them is Albert Lewin's 1945 movie adaptation of *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. Even the basic notion of Dorian Gray's remaining young and fresh and handsome while his portrait aged with the ravages of his evil soul wasn't sustained in the production. Hurd Hatfield's Dorian was never really young: he looked waxy and glacéed from the outset. And the other characters didn't age anymore than he did. But audiences responded to the appeal of the idea, anyway, and are still responding to it on television re-runs and still arguing about how it should have been cast and carried out.

François Truffaut's *Fahrenheit 451* (Universal) isn't a very good movie but the idea – which is rather dumb but in a way brilliant – has an almost irresistible appeal: people want to see it and then want to talk about how it should have been worked out. *Fahrenheit 451* is more interesting in the talking-over afterward than in the seeing. The movie is about a society in which books are forbidden, not censored or rewritten as in Orwell's vision but simply forbidden, burned. Book-lovers run off to the woods where each memorizes a book and they become a living library. It is in the difference between the movie's simple gimmick-idea and Orwell's approach to censorship as an integral part of totalitarianism that we can see some of the weakness of the idea. Stripped of the resonances of politics and predictions and cautions, stripped of all those other repressions and forms of regimentation which are associated with book-burning, the idea is shallow, it operates in a void. The strength of the idea is that in removing book-burning from any political context, in using it as an isolated fearful fancy, it turns into something both more primitive and superficially more sophisticated than a part of a familiar, and by now somewhat banal, political cautionary message.

Of course, a gimmicky approach to the emptiness of life without books cannot convey what books mean or what they're *for:* homage to literature and wisdom cannot be paid through a trick short-cut to profundity; the skimpy science-fiction script cannot create characters or observation that would make us understand imaginatively what book deprivation might be like. Among the books burned are Poe's *Tales of Mystery and Imagination* and *The Martian Chronicles* by Ray Bradbury, who also wrote the book of *Fahrenheit 451*. This decorative little conceit has the effect of making us more aware than ever of the coyness and emptiness and inadequacy of the central conceit. The idea that one of the book-people at the end might be devoting his life to preserving a text by Ray Bradbury (or *No Orchids for Miss Blandish,* which we also see in flames) is enough to turn the movie into comedy. The next step is to imagine all the jerks we've known and what they might give their lives to preserving – *Anthony Adverse? Magnificent Obsession? The Robe? The Adventurers? Valley of the Dolls?* We have only to think about it to realize how absurd the idea is. Why should a society burn all books on the basis that books make people think and so disturb them and make them unhappy? Most books don't make people think, and print is not in itself a danger to totalitarianism. That is a crotchety little librarian's view of books. Print is as neutral as the television screen. And so we're back from the primitive appeal of the gimmick to the Orwell vision of censorship and terror. And yet such is the power of the gimmick that I swear I heard people in the theatre murmur at the astuteness of that nonsensical explanation for book-burning. You'd think they'd never read a book, they're so willing to treat books as magical objects. And that is, of

CARE
U.S.A.

Your help goes where hunger is — — Give to CARE, New York 10016

This is
the year end issue
of
The New Republic.
The next issue
dated January 7
will appear
in two weeks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

course, how the movie treats them: the gimmick turns books – any books – into totems, and this is part of the gimmick's appeal to educated audiences, and it's probably a stronger appeal than a more rational treatment of the dangers of censorship could make.

Book-burning taps a kind of liberal hysteria and the audience supplies the fearful associations: Hitler, McCarthy (who was the inspiration for the book which was published in 1953). (Stalin doesn't draw this response; it's too soon to know if the Red Guards in China will.) A woman who taught at Berkeley dropped in on me once and saw a book burning in the fireplace. She pointed at it in terror, and I explained that it was a crummy ghost-written life of a movie star and that it was an act of sanitation to burn it rather than sending it out into the world which was already clogged with too many copies of it. But she said, "You shouldn't burn books" and began to cry. It's because of this kind of reaction and because we don't think of book-burning in a vacuum but of the historical horrors of taking away peoples' treasured possessions, of burning part of them, and of burning them, too, that the buggy little idea behind this movie is not easy to dismiss. *Frankenstein* preyed upon both our most primitive fears that man should not play God and our rather more sophisticated anxieties about scientists messing around with the order of things. *The Picture of Dorian Gray* brought back our childish fears that the bad secret things we did would show on our faces, as well the more sophisticated fear, and perhaps envy, of all those beautiful people who could get away with murder, who could be ruthless and rotten and it would never show on their ingenuous faces. The banal suburban look of the future in *Fahrenheit 451* affects us at childish levels, too. The characters don't seem quite grown-up, and the notion of how to save books is peculiarly naïve – as in a fairy tale. The book people are a kid's idea of how to keep literature alive. They have no concept of carrying on a living literary tradition, of writing books, or of using books for knowledge or even against the state, but of turning themselves into books – like in a kids' game. Their notion of literature is like a neighborhood library, and the book people at the end are coy and harmless eccentrics – bookworms. For American art-house audiences who are both more liberal and more bookish than the larger public, book-burning is a just-about-perfect gimmick.

Yet even at the science-fiction horror-story level, the movie fails – partly, I think, because Truffaut is too much of an artist to exploit the vulgar possibilities in the material. He doesn't give us pace and suspense and pious sentiments followed by noisy climaxes; he is too tasteful to do what a hack director might have done. Can't you visualize the scene when the hero, Oskar Werner, reads his first book, *David Copperfield* as it might have been done at Warner's or MGM in the thirties, how his face would light up and change with the exaltation of the experience – the triumph of man's liberation from darkness? Well, ludicrous as it would have been, it might have been better than what Truffaut does with it – which is nothing. Truffaut is so cautious not to be obvious, the scene isn't dramatized at all, and so we're left to figure out for ourselves that Werner must have enjoyed the reading experience because he goes on with it. Soon we're left to figure out for ourselves why he has gotten so addicted to books that he's willing to kill for them. It would, no doubt, be obvious to have an adulterous romance between Werner and the girl who goads him to read, but Truffaut doesn't supply *any* relationship to help define their characters. And if he feels that too much characterization is wrong for the genre, couldn't he at least give them actions that would define their roles in the story? Yes, it would be too much of a familiar movie cliché to have Julie Christie play the two roles of the wife and the book girl in sharply contrasting styles, but he makes nothing out of her being so much the same in both roles. And it hardly helps us to see what books mean in human life if her range of expressiveness is as narrow for the book girl as for the bookless pill-head wife. The book girl's language is just as drab and she doesn't show any of the curiosity or imagination that might indicate that books had done something for her. Couldn't she have something alive and responsive about her that would help us to understand why Werner reacts to her suggestion that he read a book? And shouldn't he have something that sets him apart, that makes him a candidate for heresy? The movie certainly needs somebody in it who has some life. And if the reply to this is that in this movie the books represent the life that is not in the people, then surely it is even more necessary to see that the book people have life. And shouldn't they speak differently from the others, shouldn't they take more pleasure in language? Couldn't they give themselves away by the words they use – the love of the richness of words? It's all very well for the director not to want to be obvious, but then he'd better be subtle. He can't just abdicate as if he thought it would be too vulgar to

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Sam Halper, *a staff member of Time-Life Books, was formerly* Time's *Caribbean Bureau Chief.* Philip Toynbee *is completing a trilogy of novels.* Francis Biddle *was formerly Attorney General of the United States.*

This was our June cover. You should have seen October's.

By Jerome Agel

While reviewers are praising for the umpteenth time the diary of a Swiss private and the history of glass design, we're reporting what's happening, what's really happening, baby. Like "The Boys of Boise," Idaho's homosexual scandals; For Hotch the Belle Tolls; The real message of "MacBird"; "Don't jump on the RFK bandwagon"; Pamela Tiffin's College of One; New Journalists Replacing Old Novelists; LSD and the turned-on grandmother; "Ho Chi Minh's Daughter"; Capote pays up his Tynan bet. Our name is BOOKS, the lively monthly for the very lively reader. Every issue is an unpredictable experience. Says Newsweek: "BOOKS has a talent for first-rate scoops." Broadway-London playwright: "Every issue is like a great night in the theater." Captain of industry: "Gives me ideas." Princeton prof: "BOOKS is fantastically imaginative, entertaining. Put me down for two more gift subscriptions." Manhattan femme fatale: "Reading BOOKS is like living with someone you love. You're beautiful." Our widely quoted, exclusive Cocktail Party column makes news: Jeane Dixon, the seer, told us: "Governor Wallace would make a good President." Marshall McLuhan said: "Art is anything you can get away with." News, seminal ideas, layouts available nowhere else. Plus plus plus. Scoop scoop scoop. There is something new under the fun sun: Us—BOOKS. See for yourself.

ONLY BY SUBSCRIPTION—Not on Newsstands

BOOKS/Agel Publishing Co., Inc.
598 Madison Avenue, NYC 10022
My check is enclosed for BOOKS the lively monthly periodical.
NAME .....
(Please Print)
ADDRESS .....
CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP .....
☐ One Year—$2.92 12 monthly issues ☐ Two Years—$5.50 24 monthly issues

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

push things one way or another. Criticism, in this case, turns into rewriting the movie: we can generally see what was intended but we have to supply so much of the meaning and connections for ourselves that it's no wonder that when it's over we start talking about how we would have done it.

There are a few nice "touches": the loss of memory by bookless people so that they have no past and no history; their drugged narcissistic languor; and there is the rather witty bit about the chief book-burner (Cyril Cusack) seeing the proof of the worthlessness of books in the fact that writers disagree. But these touches are made to pass for more than they should because there aren't enough of them. The movie is so listless we have what we should never have in a gimmicky thriller: time to notice inconsistencies. People know how to read; why are they taught? Why are the book people hiding libraries in town instead of smuggling them to the woods? (Do they have a secret lending library?) Why are we shown the hero revealing his guilt to his co-workers (in scenes like his inability to go up the fire-pole) if it doesn't lead to any consequences? Why are we shown an antagonism between Werner and another fireman (Anton Diffring) which never develops into anything functional in the structure? Why is it so easy to escape to the woods? Couldn't Truffaut or anyone think up a better contrivance to bring the book girl back than the need to retrieve an incriminating list of names (of people who memorize books!)? The actions in this movie don't flow from the theme; O.K. we can accept that if, at least, they're ingenious. But they're not. Still, all the holes in the plot would just make it seem lacy and airy if the movie had rhythm, if it moved purposefully, if the moods surprised us or intrigued us. Why doesn't it? True, this film is the first Truffaut has made in a studio, the first in color (which slows down and complicates shooting), and it was made in England, with English technicians, and in English (though Truffaut does not speak the language) which helps to explain why the timing and inflections are off in the dialogue and why the script sounds as if it were written by the bookless people. In other words, he has been totally uprooted and separated from his earlier coworkers. Business conditions made him a refugee, struggling against the same pressures of speed and efficiency and fixed shooting schedules that made the great refugee directors of Europe into modestly talented hacks in Hollywood in the thirties and forties, and so we cannot expect the flow or the spontaneity or the irridescence of *Shoot the Piano Player* and *Jules and Jim*. But not even a little bit of it? Truffaut *wanted* to make *Fahrenheit 451:* why then, even allowing for the hurdles of language and technology, isn't it more imaginatively thought out, felt, why are the ideas dull, the characters bland, the situations (like the hero breaking into the chief's office) flat and clumsy? Why is the whole production so unformed? I would offer the guess that it's because Truffaut in his adulation of Alfred Hitchcock, has betrayed his own talent – his gift for expressing the richness of life which could make him the natural heir of the greatest French director of them all, Jean Renoir. Instead, he is a bastard pretender to the commercial throne of Hitchcock – and his warmth and sensibility will destroy his chances of sitting on it. (Roman Polanski and dozens of others will get there before him.) Truffaut can't use Hitchcock's techniques because they were devised for something tightly controlled and limited and because they are based on coercing the audiences' responses (and, of course, making them enjoy it). Hitchcock is a master of a very small domain: even his amusing perversities are only two or three-dimensional, Truffaut has it in him – not to create small artificial worlds around gimmicky plots – but to open up the big world, and to be loose and generous and free and easy with it.

The worst thing about the art-house success, *A Man and a Woman,* (Allied Artists) is that its director, Claude Lelouch is so young. His assurance and facility are indications that he's already found his style, and, no doubt, he will take this financial and prestigious success as encouragement. Lelouch is his own cinematographer and he never lets us forget it. He uses a "delicate" palette and he shoots through rain and snow and ice and into sunsets; he blurs for romantic softness, and he tints for mood and variety. With swinging graphics and a teasing score, *A Man and a Woman* is designed and rhythmed more like a trailer than a movie. It's all promises.

Lelouch conveys young tender love by cutting to gamboling lovers among gamboling horses, and then lambs, and then dogs. The people have exciting photogenic occupations: stuntman, script-girl, racing-car driver. They take their kids on photogenic boats, for walks on wintry beaches. The actors don't have to do anything because the gamboling camera supplies all the moods for them. Anouk Aimée is blankly mysterious and glamorous, like Joan Crawford as the Mona Lisa. Both the men, Jean-Louis Trintignant and Pierre Barouh, are oddly like a teen-age girl's dream boyfriend – he may be a daredevil to the world but with her he's real sweet. Lelouch throws a nimbus of mist around everything: he makes everything pretty. Maybe *A Man and a Woman* is drawing such long lines of customers because all this gauzy enchantment makes it a good make-out movie – which is the best thing to be said for it.

PAULINE KAEL

GIVE HELP, HOPE TO CHILDREN

through Yuletide gifts offered by Nobel-prizewinning United Nations Children's Fund. UNICEF Greeting Cards, right, include 13 designs by world-famous artists, cost $1.25 a box of ten. Engagement Calendar, left, features 52 lovely paintings ($2.50 postpaid).

A free full color brochure from UNICEF, P.O. Box 22, Church St. Station, New York 10008.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

More on Morgenthau

Sirs:

I have just had a good laugh reading Hans J. Morgenthau's piece, *Truth and Power* (November 26). Its gist can be paraphrased thus: "All American intellectuals who disagree with me about Vietnam have been corrupted by President Johnson or bribed into silence by him." It is astonishing that a man who knows so many big words can be so silly.

Rex Stout
Brewster, N. Y.

Professor Morgenthau, in quoting Jimmy Breslin's angry exegesis on some ironic fragments by Roche, somehow failed to differentiate between the two. For those readers of *The New Republic* who may not have read the quotation closely, let me say that the aesthetic judgments are Breslin's: I happen, for example, to think that Irving Howe is a fine writer.

John P. Roche
Special Consultant to the President

Hans Morgenthau calls attention to a situation which needs particular emphasis today: the possibility that a significant number of university professors have been deterred from openly opposing the war in Vietnam by fears – warranted or not – that they will suffer losses of income and opportunities should they become *personae non gratae* with the administration.

Of the university teachers of economics with whom I am personally acquainted, a majority – including myself – have at some time been on a federal payroll or have received research grants or contracts from federal agencies. Most, presumably, will have future occasions to seek federal grants, contracts, or employment. Have some of us, therefore, decided that silence on the Vietnam war (publicly, at least) is golden? Perhaps not. But one cannot dismiss the suspicion that the academic economist, as well as the political scientist, may be affected by what Morgenthau aptly terms "a subtle and insidious relationship with the government, which imperceptibly transforms

do you teach . . .

government, literature, history, economics, international relations?
then stimulate your students with* The New Republic – *bring it into the classroom.

Those of you who are familiar with *The New Republic* know that it is more than a weekly "news" magazine . . . that it does more than report. It encourages the students to explore, to seek meaning, to "start little insurrections in the realm of their convictions."

If you are a teacher of government, literature, international relations, history or economics, we recommend *The New Republic* for use in your classroom. Special classroom rates for bulk orders of 10 or more copies are as follows: *Each student's copy costs only 15 cents weekly if 10 or more are mailed to a single address. Free desk copies are included for each instructor.*

Orders may be placed for any number of weeks, for one week only, or for the entire year. You will receive your copies before they appear on the newsstand – insurance that the contents are fresh and exciting.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
An Independent Journal of Opinion
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Please enter this CLASSROOM ORDER.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

Number of copies weekly .....

Number of free copies needed for Instructor's use .....

Starting date .....

Termination date .....

Signature .....

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his position of independent judge to that of client and partisan."

R. E. L. Knight
University of Maryland

Hans Morgenthau asserts: "It stands to reason that an academic who is working on such a contract [the reference is to all research supported by government grants] or who expects to work on one is not likely to question the basic policies of the government, either within his contractual research or outside." Whether or not "it stands to reason" (I don't believe that it does) the statement is simply not true, if the implication is that such behavior is rare. I know many scholars who have received grants to conduct research and who certainly *do* question, both in and out of the classroom, various "basic policies" of government. Upon what evidence does Prof. Morgenthau rest such a grave accusation concerning the integrity of the very large number of scholars whose work has received support from various government sources?

Eleanor P. Wolf
Wayne State University

Spanish Refugee Aid

Sirs:

Salvador de Madariaga, who shares with Pablo Casals the honorary chairmanship of Spanish Refugee Aid, is now 80 years old. He is a great humanitarian and fighter for freedom, a scholar and diplomat whose voice and pen have long been in the service of intellectual truth and political democracy throughout the world. In his honor, Spanish Refugee Aid (80 E. 11th St., N.Y.C.) has established a scholarship fund for the benefit of the children of Spanish Republican exiles.

The fathers of many of these students are dead or else ill and handicapped by years of war and exile. These small scholarships, ranging from $150 to $350, cover the cost of books, lunches, carfare and clothing. Through the Salvador de Madariaga Fund we hope to raise $10,000. I hope *New Republic* readers will join me in honoring this good man by contributing what they can to this Fund.

Hannah Arendt
New York City, N. Y.

Following Romney

Sirs:

TRB is to be congratulated for his "wait-and-see" attitude toward George Romney (December 3, 1966). . . . TRB points out that, in his TV interview *following* the November elections, "Romney took a stout stand in favor of open-housing for Negroes." Your readers may be wondering how Romney handled this volatile issue *during* the campaign.

He was asked by a panel of *Detroit Free Press* editors and reporters, "Do you favor open housing? And how about for one- and two-family dwellings?" A simple "yes" or "no" would have sufficed. Instead, Romney came out with the following: "I have supported our state Civil Rights Commission and the positions it has taken in connection with this. The Commission has been effective in securing a voluntary agreement with this principle in many instances and it is holding hearings in different cities of the state to encourage local officials and private leaders to support this policy."

Romney continued, "There are cases in the courts as a result of their enforcement of this policy that will ultimately determine the relationship between human and civil rights and the purchase of property and property owners."

On another occasion during the campaign, Romney blamed President Johnson for the civil disorders which occurred in the United States during the summer. He accused the President of having raised "false expectations" among Negroes. "Too many people have been led to expect too much too soon," Romney said. Governors Rockefeller and Scranton disagreed sharply with Romney, and rightfully so.

Finally, Romney's conflicting opinions on the tragic war in Vietnam have been widely reported in the press. In a *Grand Rapids Press* story on March 6, 1965, it was reported that "Michigan's Governor George Romney said Friday night he opposes at this time a negotiated settlement in South Vietnam." Approximately seven weeks later, on April 23, 1965, *The Detroit News* reported that "Romney says he also agrees with Mr. Johnson that 'we should be ready to talk and negotiate at any time'." On Face The Nation on June 12, 1966, he urged an expansion of the war in North Vietnam by bombing fuel depots in the Haiphong area. He said, "I don't think that you can bring the North Vietnamese to the bargaining table by simply saying that you are going to demonstrate to them that they can't win. Now, I think they have to be confronted with the fact that they are going to lose." On June 20, 1966, Romney flip-flopped again and said that the US still has time to "find an honorable solution to the Vietnam War without a wider war – and hopefully with a short war."

Zoltan Ferency
Detroit, Michigan

COMING
Robert Coles on
Freud and Bullitt
vs. Woodrow Wilson

The time has come, the Phoenix said to publish many things: of practices in politics and what makes people vote and Negroes in Chicago and other things of note.

SYSTEMATIC POLITICS
by Charles E. Merriam $2.45

THE NEW SCIENCE OF POLITICS
by Eric Voegelin $1.95

VOTING
A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign by Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee $2.95

NEGRO POLITICIANS
The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago by Harold F. Gosnell. New Intro. by James Q. Wilson $2.95

PHOENIX PAPERBACKS
For our complete list
Write Dept. NR-3
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
5750 Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War on Auto Insurance

Sirs:

In his article "Underground War on Auto Insurance" (December 3) James Ridgeway mentions that "auto insurance needs . . . basic reform." But he overlooks the basic element in that basic reform – namely eliminating the terrible waste and delay stemming from trying to decide who was at fault after each traffic accident and basing payments thereon.

The real solution to the auto insurance mess, lies in the so-called Basic Protection Plan now before the Massachusetts legislature and also being discussed in several other states, including Michigan and New York. Under this plan the bulk of automobile insurance claims would be paid as fire insurance claims are paid – by one's own insurance company and without regard to anyone's fault. Just as your fire insurance company pays for the loss you suffer when your house burns regardless of whether you were careless with a lighted cigarette, so, under the Basic Protection Plan, your auto insurance company would pay you after a traffic accident for your out-of-pocket loss regardless of negligence. By thus greatly simplifying the insured event, along with some other allied features of the proposal, the evils of the present system could be largely eliminated.

According to an actuarial study, if the basic protection plan were adopted in New York state, estimated *conservatively*, it would reduce automobile insurance premiums 15 to 25 percent. At the same time the plan would mean payment to substantially more victims and would accomplish that payment promptly and fairly with almost no need for litigation.

Jeffrey O'Connell
University of Illinois

Shortage of Nurses

Sirs:

With commendable restraint, Morris Renek ("Community Hospital in the Ghetto," December 10) alludes to some wondrous scheme whereby a ". . . woman is recruited . . . trained to a level almost comparable to that of a professional nurse. . . ." As one who is involved in the teaching of professional nursing students, I would like to point out that while the phrase quoted above is complimentary to the "woman" in the article (and thereby might do much to gain additional enlistments), it could hardly be considered creditable to the professional nurse's status (thereby doing little to ameliorate the shortage of professional nurses).

Ardis Hyland, R.N.
Fort Lee, N.J.

Isolation of the Ghetto-Child

Sirs:

There *is* an appalling gap between the education provided for Negro pupils and that provided for whites, in our urban schools. Of course, there are middle-class Negro schools to even out the average, but the record of substandard teachers, shabby facilities, inferior libraries and bigoted administration and faculty attitudes is too well-documented to be seriously challenged. That much is obvious. What is not so obvious, apparently, is that this situation will continue, so long as schools in the ghetto can be short-changed without hurting the white schools in the rest of the district. When there are budget cuts to be made, they are made at the expense of the ghetto school, because the cuts will not affect "important" children; *i.e.*, white children. Until our schools are fully integrated, so that anything done to any school in the district affects white and Negro students, this condition will prevail.

The isolation of the ghetto-child is perhaps the most disabling aspect of segregation. From the earliest age, he learns that the gap between his neighborhood and the rest of the city is unbridgeable. He does not feel a part of society or of his city, simply because he is not a part of them. He grows up with the knowledge that he is "not good enough" to live anywhere but in the crumbling slum in which he lives, and many studies indicate that such children may never even *see* another part of the city before they serve their first prison term. . . . If they spend all their time learning their "place" as blacks, rather than learning about the big world outside Harlem or Watts, how can they ever escape from Harlem and Watts? And they must escape, if they are to live.

Thomas J. Cummins
Oakland, California

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

commentator and made him only a contrary clown. Drama history dealt more kindly with Nathan, the drama critic, because it usually moves slowly and because changes in the theatre are never thorough: at any given moment, the vast proportion of drama is junk. Nathan's devastations of theatrical salami of 1916 apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to 1966. Yet he too – champion though he was of some important new talents – was not as revolutionary as he wanted to appear. He was content to be a generally disgusted connoisseur in the theatre as is, rather than a dynamiter, and he lived long enough to write: "Almost everything connected with [*South Pacific*] indicates an uncommon taste, expertness, and quality of theatrical mind." Several gentlemen I know would be surprised to read Dolmetsch's statement that Nathan "is the *Stammvater* of all American dramatic critics of the present."

None of this is to dismiss the importance of Mencken and Nathan as editors and critics in American intellectual development, nor is it to imply that only revolutionary critics have been truthful and useful. But, as it turns out, what Mencken and Nathan were doing was helping to lay the groundwork for our present-day Culture Explosion. Every item of their 1921 credo is now in almost full fig: new authors are snatched up sometimes even before they emerge; the civilized minority has never been so vocal or so audible; foreign authors dominate our theatre; black humor is the chief national mode; and the general level of poetry is better than it has ever been.

Much of what Nathan and Mencken

WORLD'S BEST?

TRY IT AND SEE
☐ 7-month subscription —$4.79 (reg. $8 per year)
☐ Commentary Card catalog—10¢ (handsome reproductions of historic Jewish art)
COMMENTARY NR 37
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
Name
Address
City State Zip

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GIVE A PACKAGE OF TRUTH

This holiday season, share the wealth of the American spirit with book-hungry students in underdeveloped parts of the world. Your $5 sends in your name* a package of ten paperbacks that tell America's story in the best possible way—through the words of such authors as Thoreau, Steinbeck, Hemingway and John F. Kennedy. Send food for thought—give to BOOKS USA, Box 1960-F, Washington, D. C. 20013.

*If you like, BOOKS USA will notify people on your gift list that you have sent book packages abroad in their names. Contributions are tax deductible.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 25c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....23c
Per word 12 times in one contract year.....22c
Per word 24 times in one contract year.....20c
Per word 48 times in one contract year.....18c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions In One Year

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th St. N.W., Wash. 36, D. C.

PERSONALS

TELEGRAMS TO EXTEND THE TRUCE – Join the massive nationwide telephone chain campaign. Send a telegram to the President any time between December 24 and January 1 asking that the truce be extended. Then call two people to do so and to contact two other people. Our voices are needed during this crucial week of history. National Headquarters TETT, 259 East 10th Street, New York City.

VINTAGE SPORTS CAR GIVERS! Give the most unusual Christmas gift ever – a 1932 MG Four-seater. The only one in this country. In good running order, with original engine. $1,200. Photos on request. Thomas DeWitt, Tunkhannock, Pennsylvania 18657.

advocated has come to pass, but what would they think of the present state of the arts, of thought, of morality? One cannot rationally blame these two men for the hollow core of the Culture Explosion, for the empty slavishness of the culture vulture, the gullibility of the *nouveau riche* art collector. Yet – admittedly with hindsight – one can see how Nathan and Mencken helped to bring the culture vulture into being. They were, as Schorer said of Mencken, profoundly bourgeois; and forty years later this has become more apparent, as bourgeois society has begun to do exactly what they told it to do (That is the really destructive quality of the middle class; it does not oppose, it embraces.) Perhaps that is the basic irony, retrospectively. Forty years ago it was still possible to be an intellectual or artist *within* the society, and now that this is becoming less and less possible, we can see that Nathan and Mencken simply helped to eradicate the differences between themselves and their environment, rather than radically altering the environment.

New Books by Recent Contributors

Richard J. Barber: *Politics of Research* (Public Affairs Press)
John Beecher: *To Live and Die in Dixie* (Red Mountain Editions)
Robert O. Blanchard: *The Moss Committee and a Federal Public Records Law, 1955-1965* (University of Michigan)
Richard Butwell (with Amry Vandenbosch): *The Changing Face of Southeast Asia* (University of Kentucky Press)
Guy Daniels: (Editor & Translator) *Ivan the Fool* and Other Tales by Leo Tolstoy (Macmillan)
Jonathan Daniels: *The Time Between the Wars* (Doubleday)
James Deakin: *The Lobbyists* (Public Affairs Press)
Martin Esslin: *Genius of the German Theatre* (New American Library)
Bernard B. Fall: *Viet-Nam Witness* (Praeger)
Hell in a Very Small Place: The Siege of Dien Bien Phu (Lippincott)
Daniel R. Fusfeld: *The Age of the Economist* (Scott, Foresman)
Frank Getlein: *Jack Levine* (Abrams)
Ronald Goldfarb: *Ransom: A Critique of the American Bail System* (Harper & Row)
Robert Graves: *Love Respelt* (Doubleday)
Michael Harrington: *The Accidental Century* (Penguin)
John Heath-Stubbs: *Selected Poems* (Oxford)
Irving Howe: *Steady Work: Essays in the Politics of Democratic Radicalism, 1953-1966* (Harcourt, Brace & World)
Barbara Howes: *Looking Up at Leaves* (Knopf)
From the Green Antilles, stories from the West Indies (Macmillan)
Larry L. King: *The One-Eyed Man* (New American Library)
Jean Lacouture: *Vietnam Between Two Truces* (Random House)
Joost A. M. Meerloo: *Mental First Aid* (Hawthorn)
William Robert Miller: *Nonviolence* (Schocken Books)
Stanley Moss: *The Wrong Angel* (Macmillan)
Charlton Ogburn, Jr.: *The Winter Beach* (Morrow)
Terence Prittie: *Israel* (Praeger)
Morris Renek: *The Big Hello*, German edition (Wilhelm Goldman Verlag)
Robert A. Rutland: *Ordeal of the Constitution* (Oklahoma)
James Tobin: *National Economic Policy* (Yale)
Honor Tracy: *Men at Work* (Random House)
William Jay Smith: *The Tin Can and Other Poems* (New American Library)
John Updike: *The Music School* (Knopf)
John Wain: *The Death of the Hind Legs* (Viking); *Wildtrack* (Viking)
Stanley Weintraub: *The Savoy: Nineties Experiment* (Pennsylvania State)
Lewis Yablonsky: *Synanon* (Penguin)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSONALS

SILENCE THOSE AGGRESSIVE HUCKSTERS! – minimize commercial brain-washing! Silence commercials with simple device. Illustrated "do-it-yourself" instructions plus safety resistor, 25c; complete kit, including switch, wire and safety resistor, $2.00. The Silencer, P.O. Box 106, Berkeley 1, California.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING." Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free. Sleep-Learning Research Association, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

PEACE GIFT WRAP – Spread your peace message and support Women Strike for Peace by wrapping gifts with WSP PEACEPAPER in 3 original design patterns. $2.00 a packet (6 jumbo sheets). ....peace children (blue) ....peace doves (red) ....peace buttons (green). ORDER FROM: WSP, 2016 P Street, N.W., Wash., D. C.

"WILL FORMS." Two will forms and book on wills. $1.00 complete. National Forms, Box 48313-NR, Los Angeles 48, Calif.

"THIS VEHICLE STINKS. Stop Air Pollution Now." Palm-size stickers encourage participation. For package of 25, send $1.00 to Stickups, Box 4291, Grand Central Station, New York 10017.

"MAKE LOVE – NOT WAR": Sweatshirts S-M-L-XL $4.00; Bumper Stickers 50c. Other designs – 5c stamp for list. JOHNSON, 528 Lakeview, Bayport, N. Y.

AUTOMOBILE BUMPER STRIPS. Low-cost advertising for Organizations, Special Events, School Projects, Business, Political Campaigns and Slogans. Write for Free Brochure, Price List and Samples. Reflective Advertising, Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132.

FREEDOM IS THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE. JOIN: N. J. COMMITTEE for the RIGHT TO READ, P. O. Box 250, Dept. N., Caldwell, New Jersey.

USE LAWFUL DIRECT ACTION to legalize abortion—LEGALIZE ABORTION, P.O. Box 24163, Los Angeles, 90024.

BEING BORN IS NOT ENOUGH: Man must choose to live, exploring the implication of his birth, reviving and renewing himself constantly. Ours is an age full of human promise and the challenges of human dreams. We move beyond the authority of chaos and deception and rebel against premature exhaustion. To us, humanism is this vitality, for humanism is both a style of life and the effect of our living.

The invitation to join the humanist movement has been taken up by people who believe that mankind must turn to itself for the answers to its problems. Free information. American Humanist Association, Dept. NR-18, Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

LITERATURE

THE IDLER. Lively, offbeat liberal monthly. Fun to read. Send $2 for trial year's subscription. Idler, 413A - 6th St., N.E., Washington, D. C. 20002.

LIFE, DEATH, LOVE, HATE, evil, LBJ, fiction, sex, air pollution, thought pollution, books, films, animals, shame, anger & despair, poetry. Where it's at: GRAFFITI MAGAZINE, ($2 – 6 issues), 88 Bleecker St., NYC 10012.

MAKING UP YOUR CHRISTMAS GIFT LIST? Don't forget to include the ideal gift – one year subscription to THE NEW REPUBLIC. First subscription $9.00; each additional subscription ordered at the same time, only $7.00. Order from THE NEW REPUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION DEPT., 381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.

SOCIALIST BOOKS – Literature, catalog, free. New York Labor News, Dept. R, 116 Nassau Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

TRANSLATIONS professionally done. All languages. James A. Ardolino, 217 Parks Avenue, Joliet, Illinois.

EMPLOYMENT

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Employers provide transportation and liberal vacations. Comprehensive new booklet, "Guide to Employment Abroad." covers all possibilities in sixty countries, all occupations. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions, English-language newspapers overseas, social work. Send $1.00. Airmail 30c extra. Money-back guarantee. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York.

FEATURE WRITERS WANTED FOR NEW OFF BEAT MAGAZINE. Criticism, commentary, satire, etc. Total freedom. No pay yet. Send usable material 1,000 to 3,000 words. Box 835, New Republic.

SCHOOLS AND CAMPS

INTERNATIONAL SUMMER SCHOOL, Cambridge, England. August 1st-29th, Seminar on Modern Britain, $210. August 29th-September 7th, Seminar on Modern English Literature and Drama, $75. Lectures, excursions, parties and accommodation. Apply to Christopher Thompson, M.A., Croft Gardens, Barton Road, Cambridge, England.

ADULT DEGREE PROGRAM for men and women over 25 seeking liberal arts education. B.A. degree may be earned through series of six month study cycles combining two week seminars on campus twice yearly with independent study at home. Students may start in July, August, January or February. Write Box R, Adult Degree Program, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont.

GREEN VALLEY SCHOOL: college preparation of dropouts, underachievers, and other children in trouble, Box 606G, Orange City, Florida 32763.

FOR STUDENTS 15-19. Special travel programs that emphasize doing, rather than just sightseeing, and close contact with people of other lands. Travel with European teenagers and live with a European family; speak French in France all summer; visit a Soviet Youth Camp; study Spanish in Spain – or choose from varied list of trips planned to help you know a part of Europe well. For full catalogue write: George N. Shumlin, Director, The European Travel-Camp, Putney, Vermont. (16th year.)

SUMMERLANE CAMP: freedom, love, work and joy, Box 25G, North Branch, New York.

VACATIONS/TRAVEL

MAYA-ZAPOTEC-AZTEC civilizations. Mexican studytour with Anthropologist. Students 14-18. Gibson, Box 1697, Hyattsville, Maryland.

289 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 168 cities, 24 countries. Latest listing of excellent, inexpensive hotels. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyager, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

THANK YOU for making our 40th year a success. Lake Shore Farm.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

EXCITING ORIGINAL GRAPHICS, contemporary foreign artists: woodcuts, etchings, lithos; by subscription $3.50-$7 each. Brochure: Graphic Circle (NR), 68 Fifth Ave., NYC 10011.

MANHOLE-COVER RUBBINGS: Nineteenth-century sewer designers' gift to pedestrians of New York. Three different manhole mandalas, red, blue and green, $5.98. INTERTOAD, 200 West 108th Street, NYC 10025.

"PLAY IT AGAIN, SAM." GIANT photo mural . . . typical "BOGIE" pose, (43" x 30") from one of his most famous movie roles, lithographed on poster stock . . . shipped in protective mailing tube. $2.00 postpaid. Hudson Industries, Dept. NR-21, 116 Charles Street, New York, N. Y. 10014.

ANDEAN SWEATERS – Ski? – Handsome, bulky, hand-knit, hand-spun, 100% wool sweaters – moderately priced. (C.D. Project). Write: ANDEAN, Box 2948, Quito, Ecuador.

FOR WOMEN. A personalized costume pin of gold-like script in any first-name for use on sweater, blouse, collar or lapel. Send $2.00 with choice of name and forwarding address to Box 810, New Republic. If uncommon first-name, allow 14 days for delivery. Postage prepaid.

BUY THE CRAFTS OF FREEDOM from co-ops in Mississippi. Hand-crafted suede bags, candles, Negro and white stuffed dolls, charming calico dresses, and more, are available from our free mail order catalog. Liberty House, P. O. Box 3193, Jackson, Miss.

SHOULDERBAGS, also handbags (CD-products), ideal Christmas gift for college, shopping, handmade of "Cabuya" fiber cord, natural color, washable. US – $7.50 postpaid. Mailorder Artes Manuales, Box 122, Cuenca, Ecuador, S.A.

MUSIC

HARPSICHORD KIT—A superb, authentic, full toned instrument for home workshop assembly, $150. Same instrument as owned by Philadelphia Orchestra and RCA Victor. Also Clavichord kit, $100. Free brochure. Please write: Zuckermann Harpsichords, Dept. P, 115 Christopher Street, N.Y.C. 14.

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake, Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

YOUR BACH becomes alive on a Sabathil harpsichord. Vancouver, Canada.

Printed by National Publishing Co. 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To demonstrate how the Seven Arts Book Society can help you build a magnificent art library in your own home . . .

Take any one

of these valuable books or sets, retail up to $75,

at savings as much as **80%** off retail

ANY ONE OF THESE—$4.95

700. Painting In The Twentieth Century, *Werner Haftmann.* Two volumes, boxed. 868 pages, 6½ x 9½ inches. Over 1000 ills. with 50 in color. *Retail $17.50.*

701. Paul Klee, *Will Grohmann.* 452 pages, 8⅜ x 11⅞ inches. 472 ills. with 40 in color. *Retail $20.*

702. Goya, *José Gudiol.* 168 pages, 9¾ x 13 inches. 127 ills. with 48 in color. *Retail $15.*

705. Daumier, *Robert Rey.* 160 pages, 9¾ x 13 inches. 126 ills. with 48 hand-tipped plates in color. *Retail $15.*

706. Gauguin, *Robert Goldwater.* 158 pages, 9¾ x 12¾ inches. 113 repros., 48 oil paintings in full color, hand-tipped. 15 woodblocks and rare water colors in color. *Retail $15.*

707. Michelangelo, *Fredrick Hartt.* 160 pages, 10 x 13 inches. 134 ills. with 48 tipped-in color plates. *Retail $15.*

708. Wild Flowers, *Homer D. House.* 362 pages, 8½ x 11 inches. 364 color ills. *Retail $17.95.*

719. Twentieth Century Architecture, *John Jacobus.* 216 pages, 9¾ x 11¼ inches. Over 400 ills. *Retail $18.50.*

720. Rebuilding Cities, *Percy-Johnson Marshall.* 374 pages, 8½ x 11 inches. Nearly 500 ills. *Retail $15.00.*

ANY ONE OF THESE—$7.95

709. Toulouse-Lautrec: His Complete Lithographs and Drypoints, *Jean Adhémar.* 418 pages, 9⅞ x 13 inches. 368 full-page repros. with 54 in color. *Retail $22.50.*

710. Art Nouveau, *Robert Schmutzler.* 322 pages, 9½ x 11⅞ inches. 688 ills. with 12 plates in color. *Retail $25.*

711. Studios And Styles Of The Italian Renaissance, *André Chastel.* 448 pages, 9 x 11 inches. Over 300 ills. with 119 in color. *Retail $25.*

712. History of Art, *H. W. Janson.* 572 pages, 8¾ x 11½ inches. 928 ills. with 80 in full color. *Retail $18.50.*

713. The Making of Urban America, *John W. Reps.* 574 pages, 10½ x 8½ inches. Over 300 ills. *Retail $25.*

714. The Beginnings of Art and The Beginnings of Architecture. Two volumes by *Sigfried Giedion.* 1196 pages, 7½ x 10 inches. Over 800 ills. with 38 in color. *Retail $25.*

722. Pablo Picasso, *Wilhelm Boeck and Jaime Sabartes.* 524 pages, 8 ½ x 12 inches. Over 600 ills. with 45 in color. *Retail $25.00.*

SPECIAL OFFERS

716. VISION + VALUE

I. Education of Vision; The Nature and Art of Motion; Structure in Art and Science. Three volumes edited by Gyorgy Kepes. Over 450 ills. *Retail $37.50.*

II. The Man-Made Object: Sign, Image, Symbol; Module, Proportion, Symmetry, Rhythm. Three volumes edited by Gyorgy Kepes. Over 500 ills. *Retail $37.50.*

. . . a magnificent six volume set, retail $75, yours for only $15.95.

717. The World of Music. Over 1500 pages, 7¾ x 9¾ inches. More than 5500 entries with over 2000 ills.

. . . a four volume set, retail $50, yours for only $9.95.

718. GREAT AGES OF ARCHITECTURE

I. Roman, Gothic, Baroque and Rococo, and Modern architecture. Four volumes, boxed. *Retail $20.*

II. Greek, Medieval, Early Christian and Byzantine, and Renaissance architecture. Four volumes, boxed. *Retail $20.*

. . . eight volumes in all, retail $40, yours for only $9.95.

If you have an appreciation for fine books on the arts—books such as those shown here—a membership in the Seven Arts Book Society will enable you to obtain these and other such books at savings that will continue for as long as you choose to remain a member.

We invite you to enroll in this unique Society—to reap the benefits of our nearly two decades of experience. You will be afforded the opportunity to obtain the finest books on the arts—lavishly illustrated, handsomely bound and printed books that will most certainly add elegance to any home.

The terms of this offer are simple. You need only accept four more of the many outstanding works that will be offered to you at members' savings in the course of the coming year. All books will be explained in your monthly copy of the Seven Arts News in which you will also find special offers enabling you to obtain *free* books.

Take a moment right now to select your specially priced book or set and mail the coupon today to: Seven Arts Book Society, One Park Avenue, New York City 10016.

The Seven Arts Book Society

S66-12NR1

One Park Ave. New York, N. Y.

Please enroll me as a member of The Seven Arts Book Society and send me the book or set I have indicated, by number, in the box below. Regardless of regular retail price, I will be billed at the special introductory price plus a small charge for postage and handling—my savings can total as much as 80% off retail. In all, I need only purchase four more books in the next year from the many that will be offered at prices substantially less than retail—then I may cancel my membership at any time. My membership will also entitle me to receive *free* books by responding to the offers explained in my monthly copy of The Seven Arts News.

Indicate, by number, your choice of book or set ☐

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED